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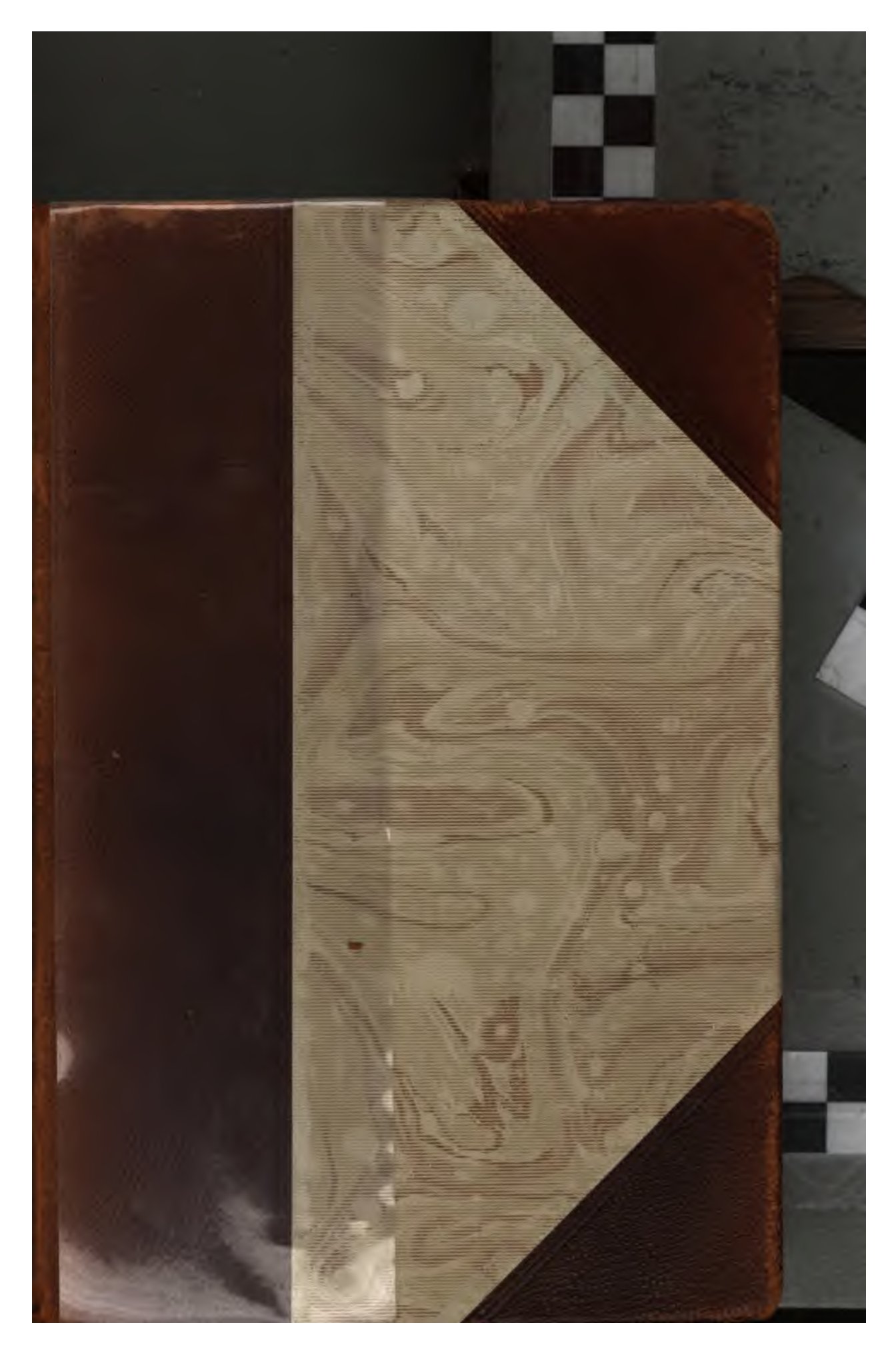

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VICTOR HUGO.

CHARLEMAGNE.

VOLTAIRE

A CONTEMPORARY VIEWPOINT

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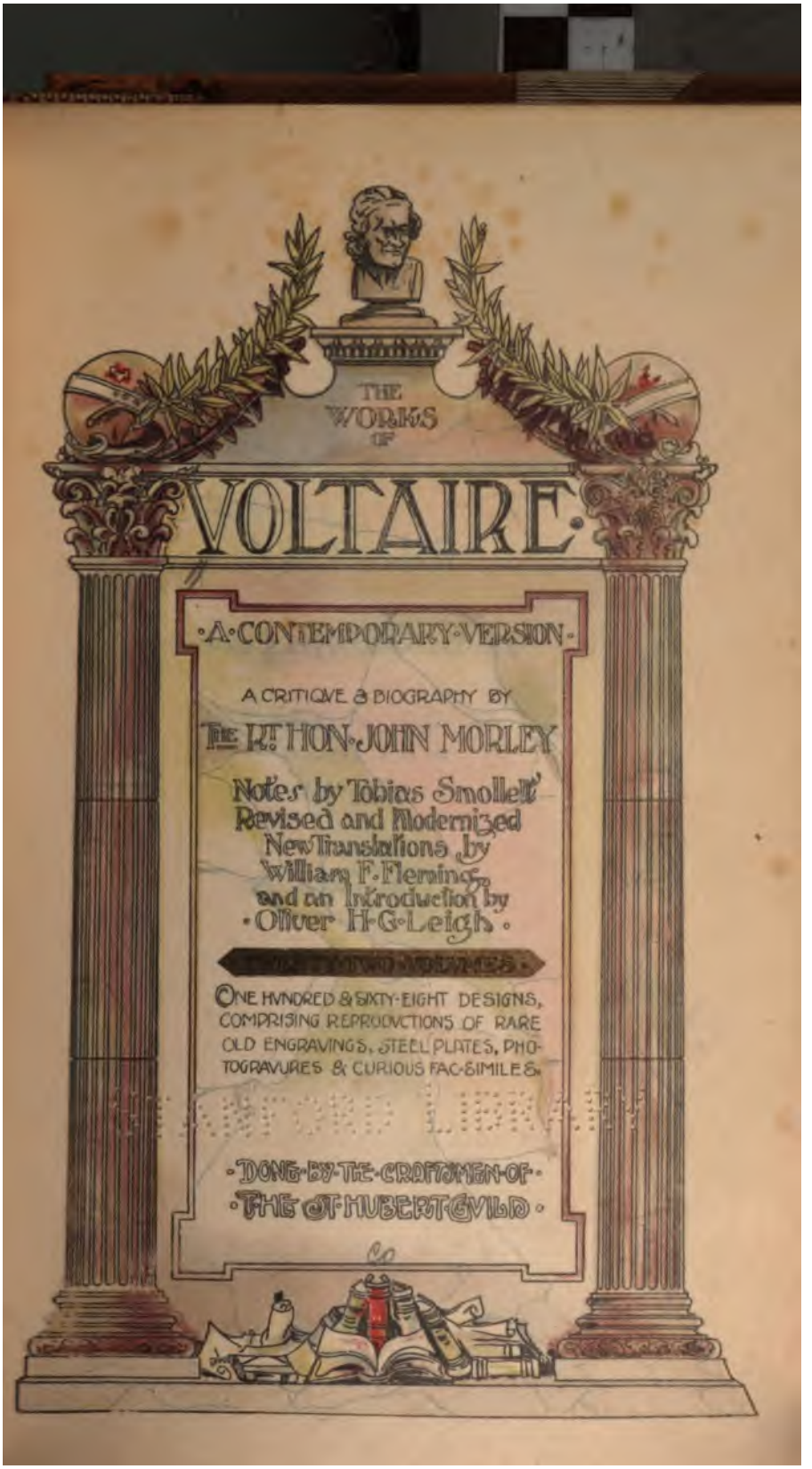
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VOLTAIRE

ANNALS OF THE EMPIRE

CHARLEMAGNE, A. D. 742.

TO

HENRY VII, 1313

VOL. XVII — PART I

VOLTAIRE spent a happy month in 1753 as the guest of the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha, who expressed regret that there was no popular history of the German Empire, such as might intensify her son's interest in the deeds of his ancestors. The wish was accepted as a command by the courtly guest, who forthwith began the remarkable compendium of historical facts, sketches, criticisms, and cogent reflections which form these "Annals." "The world abounds with troubles and with crimes (he wrote to the Duchess), and history is no other than a picture of the outrages and distress of mankind." The popularity of his "Age of Louis XIV." led to the unauthorized issue of three editions of the "Annals" within a month of its appearance, from which he not only received no profit, but probably sustained loss.

LIST OF PLATES

Part I.

	PAGE
Charlemagne	*Frontispiece*
Death of Conrad III	177
"He Murders the Emperor's Murderer" .	220

ANNALS OF THE EMPIRE

FROM THE TIME OF

CHARLEMAGNE.

INTRODUCTION.

Of all the revolutions which have changed the face of the earth, that alone which transferred the empire of the Romans to Charlemagne seems to have been just, if the word "just" may be pronounced of events which partook so much of violence. Charlemagne was actually called to the empire by the voice of the Roman people, whom he had at once saved from the tyranny of the Lombards and the negligence of the eastern emperors.

This is the great epoch of the western nations; at this time a new order of government began, the foundation of the temporal power of the Church; for no bishop in the East had ever been a prince, or possessed any of the rights of royalty. This new Roman empire bore no resemblance to that of the first Cæsars. In these annals will be seen the true nature of this empire, how the Roman pontiffs acquired that temporal power with which they have been so much reproached; how so many western

bishops, especially those of Germany, erected themselves into sovereigns; and in what manner the Roman people struggled to preserve their liberty between the emperors and popes who disputed with one another the dominion of Rome.

All the West, since the fifth century, was either barbarous or desolate; so many nations, formerly subdued by the ancient Romans, had at least lived till the fifth century in a state of happy subjection. It is a singular example in all ages, that conquerors should have built for the conquered those vast baths, amphitheatres, and highways, which no nation since those times has even presumed to imitate; there was in effect but one people; the Latin language, in the time of Theodosius, was spoken from Cadiz to the Euphrates; trade was carried on from Rome to Trier and Alexandria with more ease than many provinces now find in trafficking with their next neighbors; even the tributes, though burdensome, were much less intolerable than since that time, when the people are obliged to pay for the luxury, and undergo the violence of so many particular masters. Let us only compare the state of Paris, while governed by Julian, the philosopher, with its situation a hundred and fifty years after. Let us consider Trier, the largest city of the Gauls, in the time of Theodosius, when it was called a second Rome, and then observe the state of that city after the inundation of the Barbarians. Autun, under Constantine, contained five and twenty thousand

masters of families; Arles was still more populous. The Barbarians brought along with them devastation, poverty, and ignorance. The Franks were of the number of those famished and ferocious people, who ran to the pillage of the empire. They subsisted upon rapine and theft, although the country in which they settled was very fair and fertile. They did not know how to cultivate the lands. That country is marked in an ancient chart still preserved at Venice. There we see the Franks settled from the mouth of the Main as far as Friesland, and in part of Westphalia, the *Franci seu Chamavi.* It is by means of the ancient Romans, and them only, that we have a distinct notion of our own origin. The Franks then were part of those people called Saxons, who inhabited Westphalia; and when Charlemagne made war upon them three hundred years after, he exterminated the descendants of his own ancestors.

Those tribes of Franks, of which the Salians were the most illustrious, established themselves gradually in Gaul, not as allies of the Roman people, as generally supposed, but after having plundered the Roman colonies, Trier, Cologne, Mentz, Tongres, Tournay, Cambray; defeated indeed by Actius, one of the last supports of the Roman grandeur, but afterwards united with him, through necessity, against Attila; then again taking advantage of the anarchy to which those irruptions of the Huns, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards and Burgundians reduced the empire, they used against the

emperors themselves the rights and titles of masters of the militia, and the patriciate, which they had received from them. This empire was torn into shreds, and every horde of those fierce savages seized upon part as its own prey. One incontestable proof that those people were a long time in a state of barbarity is that they destroyed a great number of cities, and founded none.

All these dominions were of small importance till the end of the eighth century before the power of the caliphs, which threatened the whole earth.

The first successors of Mahomet possessed the right of the throne and of the altar, of the sword and of enthusiasm; their orders were so many oracles; their soldiers so many fanatics. In the year 651, they besieged Constantinople, destined to be one day Mussulman. The inevitable divisions among so many new chiefs, of so many peoples and armies, did not interfere with their conquests; the Mahometans, in that particular, resembled the ancient Romans, who subdued Asia Minor and the Gauls, even in the midst of their civil wars.

In 711, we see them passing from Egypt into Spain, which was easily subdued successively by the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Vandals, and at last by those Arabs called Moors, who there established the kingdom of Cordova. The sultan of Egypt, indeed, shook off the yoke of the grand caliph of Bagdad; and Abd-er-Rahman, governor of conquered Spain, no longer acknowledged the Sultan of

Egypt; nevertheless, everything yielded to the arms of the Mussulmans.

This Abd-er-Rahman, grandson of the caliph Hesham, took the kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, Portugal and Aragon; made a settlement in Languedoc; conquered Guienne and Poitou; and, if Charles Martel had not deprived him of his conquests and his life, France would have been a Mahometan province.

As the Mahometans increased in power, they improved in politeness. Those caliphs, who were always acknowledged as the sovereigns of religion by such as received their orders from afar, finding themselves at their ease in their new Babylon, revived the arts in that capital.

Haroun-al-Raschid, contemporary with Charlemagne, more illustrious than his predecessors, who caused himself to be respected even in Spain and at the river Indus, reanimated all the sciences, cultivated the agreeable and useful arts, invited and encouraged learned men, and saw politeness succeed barbarity through his vast dominions. Under him the Arabians, who had already adopted the Indian ciphers, carried them into Europe. The first rudiments of astronomy known in Germany and France were learned from the Arabians; the word "Almanac" is still a proof of this assertion. In a word, during the second century after Mahomet, the Christians of the West were obliged to go and take instructions from the Mussulmans.

The more Mahomet's empire flourished, the more Constantinople and Rome were abased. Rome had never recovered from that fatal stroke she received from Constantine, in his removing the seat of empire; the Romans were no longer animated by glory and patriotism. The inhabitants of that ancient capital had nothing more to hope from fortune. Courage became enervated, the arts sank into oblivion, and nothing was now seen in the abodes of the Scipios and Cæsars, but contests between the secular judges and the bishop. Taken, retaken, and sacked so often by the Barbarians, Rome still obeyed the emperors. After Justinian, a viceroy governed it under the name of "exarch;" but he no longer deigned to look upon it as the capital of Italy. He resided at Ravenna, and from there he sent his orders to the prefect of Rome. The emperors had nothing now remaining in Italy, but the country that extends from the boundaries of Tuscany to the extremities of Calabria. The Lombards were in possession of Piedmont, the Milanese, Mantua, Genoa, Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and Bologna; these dominions composed the kingdom of Lombardy. Those Lombards are said to have come from Pannonia, where they had embraced Arianism, which was the prevailing religion. Having penetrated into Italy by Tyrol, there they settled, and confirmed their dominion by submitting to the Catholic religion. Rome, whose walls were demolished, and who had no other defence but the troops

of the exarch, was often menaced with subjection to the power of the Lombards. It was then so poor that the annual imposition levied by the exarch amounted to no more than a golden sol from every master of a family; and even this was a burdensome tax. It was like those barren and remote lands which are a charge to the owners.

The Roman diurnal of the seventh and eighth centuries, a precious monument, part of which is printed, shows, in the most authentic manner, what the sovereign pontiff was in those days. He was called The Vicar of Peter, Bishop of the City of Rome, as soon as he was elected by the citizens; the clergy in a body intimated his election to the exarch, in this form: "We entreat you who are charged with the imperial ministry, to order the consecration of our father and pastor." They likewise communicated the news of the election to the metropolitan of Ravenna, in these words: "St. Peter, we beseech thy holiness to obtain of our lord, the exarch, the ordination now depending." They were also obliged to send an account of it to the judges of Ravenna, whom they styled Your Eminences.

At that time the new pope, before his ordination, was obliged to pronounce two confessions of faith; and in the second he condemned among the heretics Pope Honorius I. because, at Constantinople, the said Honorius, bishop of Rome, was supposed to have acknowledged but one will in Jesus Christ.

There is a great distance from this to the tiara; but there is likewise a great difference between the first monk who preached on the banks of the Rhine and the electoral cap; as also between the first chief of the wandering Salians and a Roman emperor. All greatness is formed gradually, and the origin of everything is small and inconsiderable.

The pontiff of Rome established his greatness insensibly, during the abasement of the city: the Romans were poor, but the Church was not. Constantine had given, to the basilica of the Lateran only, above a thousand marks of gold, and about thirty thousand of silver, and assigned to it fourteen thousand sols of yearly revenue. The popes, who fed the poor, and sent missions through all the West, having had occasion for more considerable supplies, had obtained them without difficulty. The emperors, and even the Lombard king, had granted them lands; and they possessed, in the neighborhood of Rome, certain revenues and castles called The Justices of St. Peter. Several citizens eagerly strove to enrich, by donation or will, a church whose bishop was looked upon as the father of their country. The credit of the popes was greatly superior to their wealth. It was impossible to fail, in point of veneration, for an almost uninterrupted succession of pontiffs, who had consoled the Church, converted religion, and softened the manners of the Heruli, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, and Franks.

Although the Roman pontiffs in the time of the

exarchs, extended their right of metropolitan no farther than the suburban towns, that is, over the towns subjected to the government of the prefect of Rome, nevertheless, they were often dignified with the appellation of Universal Pope, on account of the primacy and dignity of their fee. Gregory the Great refused that title, which, however, he merited by his virtues; and his successors extended their credit in the West; therefore we ought not to be surprised to find in the eighth century Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, the same who consecrated Pepin, express himself thus in the form of his oath: "I promise to St. Peter, and his vicar Gregory the Happy," etc.

At length, in process of time, the popes formed the design of delivering Rome at once from the Lombards, by whom it was incessantly threatened, and the Greek emperors, by whom it was so ill defended. The popes at that time perceived that which at other conjunctures would have been no other than a revolt or impotent sedition, might now become a revolution excusable from necessity, and respectable through success. This is the revolution which was begun under Pepin II., usurper of the throne of France, and completed by his son Charlemagne, at a time when everything was in confusion, and the face of Europe must have necessarily been changed.

The kingdom of France at that time extended from the Pyrenees and the Alps to the Rhine, the

Main and the Saale. Bavaria depended upon this vast kingdom. It was the king of France who bestowed that duchy when he was strong enough to give it away. This kingdom of the Franks, which had been almost always divided since the time of Clovis, and torn by intestine wars, was nothing but a vast, barbarous province of the ancient Roman empire, which Constantinople always reckoned among the rebellious states, though she treated with it as a powerful kingdom.

CHARLEMAGNE.

742 — Charlemagne, born April 10, near Aix-la-Chapelle, was the son of Pepin, mayor of the palace, duke of the Franks, and grandson of Charles Martel. All that we know of his mother is, that her name was Bertha; but we are not even precisely acquainted with the place of his birth. He was born during the session of the council of Germany, though thanks to the ignorance of those times, we know not where that famous council was held.

One half of the country, which is now called Germany, was idolatrous, from the banks of the Weser, and even of the Main and the Rhine, to the Baltic, and the other half Christian.

There were already bishops at Trier, Cologne, and Mentz, frontier cities, founded by the Romans, and instructed by the popes; but that country was

then called Austrasia, and belonged to the kingdom of the Franks.

One Willebrod, an Englishman, had, in the time of Charles Martel's father, gone to preach to the idolaters of Friesland what little Christianity he knew. There was, towards the end of the seventh century, a titular bishop of Westphalia who raised little children from the dead. Willebrod took the vain title of Bishop of Utrecht; and there he built a small church, which was destroyed by the pagan Frieslanders. At length, in the beginning of the eighth century, another Englishman, known afterwards by the name of Boniface, went and preached in Germany, and was looked upon as an apostle. The English were at that time the preceptors of the Germans; and it was to the popes that all those people, as well as the Gauls, owed the little learning and Christianity which they knew.

743 — A synod at Lestine in Hainault serves to show the manners of those times. There it was regulated, that those who had taken the effects of the Church, in order to maintain a war, should give a crown to the Church by way of farm. This regulation regarded the officers of Charles Martel and his son Pepin, who enjoyed during life the abbeys they had seized. It was then equally usual to endow monks, and to deprive them of their endowments.

Boniface, that apostle of Germany, founded the abbey of Fulda, in the county of Hesse. At first it was no more than a church covered with thatch and

surrounded with cabins, inhabited by some monks, who grubbed an ungrateful soil. It is now a principality; and no man can be a monk unless he is a gentleman; the abbot has been long a sovereign, and since the year 1753 a bishop.

744 — Carloman, uncle of Charlemagne, duke of Austrasia, reduced the Bavarian vassals, who were in rebellion against the king of France, and defeated the Saxons, of whom he wanted to make vassals also.

745 — At this time Boniface was bishop of Mentz. The dignity of metropolitan, hitherto attached to the see of Worms, is transferred to Mentz.

Carloman, brother of Pepin, abdicates the duchy of Austrasia; it was a powerful realm, which he governed under the name of Mayor of the Palace, while his brother Pepin ruled in western France; and Childeric, king of all France, could scarce command the servants of his own family. Carloman renounces his sovereignty to go and turn monk at Monte Cassino.

Historians still affirm that Pepin loved him tenderly; but, in all probability, he loved better to rule alone. The cloister was then the asylum of those who had too powerful competitors in the world.

747-748 — In most towns of France they renew the custom of the ancient Romans, known under the name of "patronage," or "clientship." The citizens chose patrons among the noblemen; and this circumstance alone proves that the people in Gaul were

not divided, as it is pretended they were, into masters and slaves.

749 — Pepin at length undertakes what his father Charles Martel could not perform. He resolves to deprive the Merovingian race of the crown; and the first step he takes is to gain the apostle Boniface over to his party, together with several bishops, and at last Pope Zacharias himself.

750 — Pepin causes his king Hilderic or Childeric III. to be deposed and made a monk at St. Bertin, and seats himself on the throne of the Franks.

751 — Pepin resolves to subdue the people then called Saxons, extending from the neighborhood of the Main to the Cimbric Chersonesus, who had already conquered England. Pope Stephen III. demands the protection of Pepin against Luitprand, king of Lombardy, who wanted to make himself master of Rome. The emperor of Constantinople was too remote and too weak to succor him; and the first domestic of the king of France, now become usurper, was the only person who could give him protection.

754 — The first known action of Charlemagne was to go, by order of his father Pepin, and prostrate himself before Pope Stephen at St. Maurice in Valais. This was an eastern custom. People often kneeled before bishops, and these bishops bended the knee not only before emperors, but even before the governors of provinces, when these last came to take possession.

As for the custom of kissing feet, it was not yet introduced in the West. Diocletian was the first who exacted that mark of respect. Popes Adrian I. and Leo III. first arrogated to the pontificate that honor which Diocletian had assumed to the empire; after which, kings and emperors submitted like other people to that ceremony, in order to render the Roman religion the more venerable.

Pepin caused himself to be consecrated king of France, by the pope, in the month of August, in the abbey of St. Denis; he had already been consecrated by Boniface, but the hand of the pope rendered his usurpation the more respectable in the eyes of the people. Eginard, secretary to Charlemagne, says in express terms, that Hilderic was deposed by order of Pope Stephen. Pepin was the first European king who was consecrated. This ceremony was an imitation of the unction applied to the Hebrew kings: he, at the same time, took care to see his two sons, Charles and Carloman, consecrated. The pope, before he consecrated him king, absolved him of his perjury to his sovereign Hilderic; and, after the consecration, fulminated an excommunication against whosoever should at any time attempt to take the crown from the family of Pepin. Neither Hugh Capet nor Conrad has shown great respect to that excommunication. The new king, in recompense for the pope's complaisance, passes the Alps with his vassal, Thasillon, duke of Bavaria, besieges Astolphus in Pavia, and returns

the same year without success either in making war or peace.

755 — Scarce had Pepin repassed the Alps, when Astolphus besieges Rome. Pope Stephen conjures the new king of France to come to his relief. Nothing can be a more convincing proof of the simplicity of those ignorant times, than a letter which the pope caused to be written to the king of France in the name of St. Peter, as if it had come down from heaven; a simplicity, however, which did not exclude the frauds of policy and attempts of ambition.

Pepin delivers Rome, again besieges Pavia, makes himself master of the exarchate, and gives it — as they say — to the pope. This is the first title of the temporal power of the holy see, by which Pepin equally weakened the kings of Lombardy and the emperors of the East. This donation is very doubtful; for the archbishops of Ravenna at that time took the title of exarchs; consequently the bishops of Rome and Ravenna were resolved to aggrandize themselves. It is highly probable that Pepin gave some lands to the popes, and favored those in Italy who strengthened his dominions in France. If he really made that present to the popes, it is very clear that he gave away what did not belong to him; but he had also taken what was not his own. We find scarce any other source of the first rights. Time renders them legitimate.

756 — Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, goes upon

a mission among the Friesland idolaters, from whom he receives the crown of martyrdom: but, as historians say that he was martyred in his camp, and that abundance of the Frieslanders were killed, it is reasonable to believe that the missionaries were soldiers. Thasillon, duke of Bavaria, does homage for his duchy to the king of France, in the form of those homages which have been since called "*liegance.*" By this time there were great hereditary fiefs, and Bavaria was one of that number.

Pepin once more defeats the Saxons. All the wars of those people against the Franks seem to have been little more than the incursions of barbarians, who came by turns to carry off cattle and ravage the harvests. There was no place of strength, no policy, no formed design. This part of the world was still savage.

Pepin, by all his victories, gained no more than the payment of an old tribute of three hundred horses; to which were added five hundred cows. This was hardly worth the trouble of slaying so many thousand men.

758-760 — Didier, or Desiderius, successor of Astolphus, retakes the towns which Pepin gave to St. Peter; but Pepin was so formidable, that Didier is said to have restored them in consequence of his threats only. Hereditary vassalage began to be so effectually introduced, that the kings of France pretended to be lords paramount of the duchy of Aquitaine. Pepin, by force of arms, compels

Geoffrey, duke of Aquitaine, to take the oath of fidelity to him in presence of the duke of Bavaria; so that he had two great sovereigns at his feet. We may easily perceive that these homages were no other than the submission of weakness to superior power.

762-763 — The duke of Bavaria, thinking himself strong enough, and seeing Pepin at a distance, revokes his homage; but, when the other is on the brink of making war upon him, renews his oath of fidelity.

766-767 — The erection of the bishopric of Salzburg. Pope Paul I. sends to the king, as a present, books, chanters, and a clock. Constantine Copronimus likewise sends to him an organ and some musicians. This would not be a fact worthy of history if it did not show how little the arts were known in that part of the world. At that time the Franks knew nothing but war, hunting, and feasting.

768 — The preceding years are barren of events, consequently happy for the people; for almost all the great events of history are public misfortunes. The duke of Aquitaine revokes his homage after the example of the duke of Bavaria. Pepin flies upon him, and reunites Aquitaine to the crown.

Pepin, surnamed the Short, died at Saintes, September 24, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Before his death he makes his will by word of mouth, and not by writing, in presence of the great officers of his house, his generals, and those who held exten-

sive lands for life. He divides his dominions between his two sons Charles and Carloman. After Pepin's death, the nobles modify his will. They gave to Charles, afterwards called Charlemagne, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Provence, and Neustria, which then extended from the Meuse to the Loire and the ocean. Carloman had Austrasia from Rheims to the extremities of Thuringia. It is plain that the kingdom of France at that time comprehended nearly one-half of Germany.

770 — Didier, king of the Lombards, offers his daughter Desiderata in marriage to Charles, who was already married: he espouses Desiderata, so it appears he had two wives at one time. This was not uncommon; Gregory de Tours says that the kings Gontram, Caribert, Sigebert, and Chilperic had several wives.

771 — His brother Carloman died suddenly at the age of twenty: his widow flies into Italy with two princes, her children. This death and that flight do not absolutely prove that Charlemagne was resolved to reign alone, and entertained evil designs against his nephews; but neither do they prove that he deserved to have his festival celebrated as it is in Germany.

772 — Charles causes himself to be crowned king of Austrasia, and reunites all the vast realms of the Franks, without leaving anything to his nephews. Posterity, dazzled by the glare of his glory, seems to have forgotten that injustice. He repudiated his

wife, the daughter of Didier, in order to revenge himself for the asylum which the Lombard king had afforded to the widow of his brother Carloman.

He takes the field against the Saxons, and finds at their head a man worthy to fight against him; this was Wittikind, the greatest defender of the German liberty, next to Hermann, whom we call Arminius.

The king of France attacks him in that country which is now called the principality of Lippe. Those people were wretchedly armed; for, in the capitularies of Charlemagne, we see a most rigorous prohibition to sell cuirasses and helmets to the Saxons. The arms and discipline of the Franks could not fail to be victorious over ferocious courage. Charles cut in pieces the army of Wittikind, and takes the capital, called Erresburg. That capital was a number of huts surrounded with a ditch. The inhabitants are slaughtered. He demolishes the principal temple of the country, said to have been formerly dedicated to the god Tanfana, *the universal principle,* if ever those barbarians acknowledged a universal principle; but at that time dedicated to the god Irminful, a temple revered in Saxony, like that of Sion among the Jews. The priests were murdered upon the fragments of the idol which had been overthrown. The victorious army penetrated as far as the Weser. All those districts submitted. Charlemagne resolved to bind them to his yoke with the tie of Christianity. While

he hastened to the other end of his dominions, and to other conquests, he left among them missionaries to persuade, and soldiers to compel them. Almost all the people who lived near the Weser found themselves in one year Christians and slaves.

773 — While the king of the Franks restrains the Saxons on the banks of the Weser, he is recalled to Italy. The quarrels between the Lombards and the pope still subsisted; and the king, in succoring the Church, might have made himself master of Italy, which was better worth his trouble than the countries of Bremen, Hanover, and Brunswick. He marched therefore against his father-in-law, Didier, who was then before Rome. His aim was not to avenge Rome, but to hinder Didier from accommodating matters with the pope, in order to restore to the two sons of Carloman the kingdom which was their due. He ran to attack his father-in-law, and cloaked his usurpation with piety. He was followed by seventy thousand men, regularly trained to war; an almost incredible circumstance in those times. Armies of one hundred and two hundred thousand men had been assembled before this period, but then they consisted of peasants, who retired to their harvest after a battle was lost or won. Charlemagne retained them longer under his standard, and this discipline greatly contributes to his victories.

774 — The French army besieges Pavia. The king goes to Rome, renews and augments the dona-

tions of Pepin, and with his own hand places a copy of it on the tomb, which, as they pretended, contained the ashes of St. Peter. Pope Adrian thanks him in panegyric verses of his own writing.

The "Tradition of Rome" says that Charles gave Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily; but surely he did not bestow any of these countries, which were not in his possession. But there is still extant a letter from Adrian to the Empress Irene, which proves that Charles gave some dominions which are not specified in the letter. "Charles, duke of the Franks and Patrician," said he, "hath given us provinces, and restored the towns which the perfidious Lombards detain from the Church," etc.

We find that Adrian still carefully husbanded his influence over the empire, in giving Charles the title of Duke and Patrician only, and seeking to fortify his possession with the name of restitution.

The king returns from Pavia. Didier surrenders himself, is made a monk, and sent to the abbey of Corbie, in France. Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards, who had destroyed the Roman power in Italy, and substituted their own laws in the room of those made by the emperors. Every king who had the misfortune to be dethroned became a monk in those days.

Charlemagne caused himself to be crowned king of Italy in Pavia, with a crown on which there was an iron circle, still preserved in the little town of Monza.

Justice was still administered in Rome in the name of the Greek emperor. Even the popes received from him the confirmation of their election; for though the emperor was deprived of the substance, he still retained the shadow of power. Charlemagne, like Pepin, assumed no other title but that of Patrician, which Theodoric and Attila had deigned to receive; so that the name of "Emperor," which originally signified no more than the general of an army, still implied the Master of the East and West. Unsubstantial as it was, they respected it, and even were afraid to usurp it. They affected no more than the term "Patrician," which formerly meant a Roman senator, and which at that time signified a lieutenant, independent of an emperor, without power.

Nevertheless, money was then coined at Rome in the name of Adrian; whence, what are we to conclude, but that the pope, delivered from the Lombards, and no longer obeying the emperors, was himself master in Rome? Certain it is, the Roman pontiffs, like the bishops of the Franks and Germans, seized the regal rights as soon as they were in their power; all authority seeks to augment itself; and for that reason only, nothing but the name of Charlemagne was stamped upon the new money coined at Rome in the year 800, when he was elected emperor by the pope and the Roman people.

775 — The second effort of the Saxons against Charlemagne, for the recovery of their liberty, which

is called a revolt. They are again defeated in Westphalia; and, after abundance of blood had been shed, gave cattle and hostages, having nothing else to pay.

776 — An attempt of Adalgise, the son of Didier, to recover the kingdom of Lombardy. Pope Adrian construes it into a horrible conspiracy. Charles hastens to take vengeance; flies from Germany into Italy; beheads a duke of Friuli, who was an accomplice; and everything submits to his fortune.

During that very period, the Saxons return to Westphalia, and he returns to defeat them. They submit, and promise again to become Christians. Charles builds forts in their country, before any churches were built among them.

777 — He gives laws to the Saxons, and compels them to swear they will become slaves, should they ever cease to be Christians and submissive. At a grand Diet, held at Paderborn, in tents, a Mussulman emir, who commanded at Saragossa, came to conjure Charlemagne to support his rebellion against Abd-er-Rahman, king of Spain.

778 — Charles marches from Paderborn into Spain; espouses the cause of this emir; besieges and takes Pampeluna. We may observe that the spoils of the Saracens were divided between the king, his officers, and soldiers, according to the ancient custom of making war only for the sake of booty, and of dividing it equally among all those who had an equal share of the danger. But all that booty is

lost in repassing the Pyrenees. The rear-guard of Charlemagne is cut to pieces at Roncesvalles by the Arabians and Gascons. There, it is said, perished his nephew Orlando, so celebrated for his courage and incredible strength.

As the Saxons had recourse to arms while Charles was in Italy, so they take them up while he is in Spain. Wittikind, who had retired to the duke of Denmark, his father-in-law, returns to reanimate his countrymen: he reassembles them; finds in Bremen, the capital of the country which bears that name, a bishop, a church, and his Saxons in despair of being dragged to new altars: he expels the bishop, who has time to embark and get away. Charlemagne comes up with great expedition, and defeats Wittikind again.

780 — Victor on all hands, he sets out for Rome with one of his wives, called Ildegard, and two younger children, Pepin and Louis. Pope Adrian baptizes these two children, and consecrates Pepin king of Lombardy, and Louis king of Aquitaine. This Aquitaine had been erected into a kingdom for some time.

781-782 — The king of France keeps his court at Worms, Ratisbon, and Cuerci. There he is visited by Alcuin, archbishop of York. The king, who could scarce sign his own name, was resolved to make science flourish, because he would be great in everything. Peter de Pisa taught him a smattering of grammar. It is not surprising that the Italians

should instruct the Gauls and Germans; but it is very extraordinary that they should have always had occasion for Englishmen to learn that which at this day is not honored with the name of Science.

They held conference before the king, which may be called the origin of the academies, especially those of Italy, in which every academician assumed a new name. Charlemagne took the appellation of David, Alcuin, that of Albinus, and a young man called Ilgeberd, who wrote doggerel verses, boldly appropriated to himself the name of Homer.

783 — Meanwhile Wittikind, who did not learn grammar, raised an insurrection among the Saxons, and defeated the generals of Charles on the banks of the Weser. Charles comes to repair this loss. He is again victor over the Saxons, who lay down their arms before him: he commands them to deliver up Wittikind. They answer that he has escaped to Denmark. "His accomplices are still here," replied Charlemagne, and ordered four thousand five hundred to be butchered before his eyes. In this manner he prepared Saxony for the reception of Christianity.

784 — This massacre had the same effect as that produced a long time after by the massacre called St. Bartholomew in France. All the Saxons resumed their arms with fury and despair, and were joined by the Danes and neighboring nations.

785 — Charles marches against this multitude, with his son of the same name. He obtains a new

victory, and again imposes fruitless laws: establishing marquises or commanders of the militia upon the frontiers of his realms.

786 — Wittikind yields at length. He comes with a duke of Friesland, and submits to Charlemagne at Attigny on the Aisnes. Then the kingdom of France extended as far as Holstein. The king of France repairs again to Italy and rebuilds Florence; it is remarkable, that he is no sooner at one end of his dominions, than there are always revolts at the other; a sure sign that the king had not powerful bodies of troops on all his frontiers. The ancient Saxons joined the Bavarians; the king repasses the Alps.

787 — The empress Irene, who still governed the Greek Empire, at that time the only empire, had formed a powerful league against the king of France. It was composed of those very Saxons and Bavarians, and the Huns so famous heretofore under Attila, who inhabited, as now, the banks of the Danube and the Drave; nay, part of Italy itself had engaged in the association. Charles vanquished the Huns upon the Danube, and the whole was dissipated.

788-792 — During these four years of peace, he opened schools in the houses of bishops and in monasteries. The Roman chanting was established in the churches of France. At the Diet of Aix-la-Chapelle he instituted the Capitulary laws, which savor strongly of that barbarism that they were

meant to reform, and in which the nation had been long buried.

These that follow are the customs, manners, laws, and spirit which then prevailed.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS OBSERVED IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Provinces were governed and troops levied by dukes, some of whom were removable and others hereditary vassals, much in the same manner as the Turkish provinces are now governed by Beglerbeys. These dukes had been instituted in Italy by Diocletian. The counts, whose origin appears to have been in the time of Theodosius, commanded under the dukes, each assembling the troops in his own district. The farms, the towns, and villages furnished a number of soldiers proportioned to their power. Twelve farms found one horseman armed with casque and cuirass. The other soldiers were armed with nothing but a long square buckler, a battle-axe, a javelin, and sword. Those who used arrows were obliged to have at least a dozen in their quivers. The province that furnished the soldiery provided them with corn and provisions for six months. The king maintained them for the rest of the campaign. They were reviewed on the first of March and the first of May. It was usually at these seasons that the parliaments were held. In besieging towns they employed the ram, the balista, the tortoise, and almost all the machines of the Romans, for, of all

their arts, that of war alone subsisted, and *that* for their own ruin.

The noblemen called Barons, Leudes, Ricohombres, with their followers, composed what little cavalry was then to be seen in armies. The Mussulmans of Africa and Spain had a greater number of horse. It appears that afterwards they learned of them to cover their men and horses with iron, and fight with lances.

Charles had naval forces at the mouths of all the great rivers of his empire, from the Elbe to the Tiber. Before his time they were not known among the barbarians, and long after his death no such armaments were to be seen. By means of these warlike police which he maintained on all the coasts, he put a stop to those inundations of northern people who then exercised the trade of pirates. He restrained them within their own frozen climates; but, under his pusillanimous descendants, they deluged all Europe.

The general affairs were regulated in those assemblies which represented the nation, according to the custom of the ancient Romans, the Gauls, and people of the North. Under him, parliaments had no will but that of their master, who knew how to command and persuade.

He caused trade to flourish a little in his vast dominions, because he was master of the seas. Thus merchants from the coast of Tuscany went to trade at Constantinople among the Christians, and at the

port of Alexandria among the Mussulmans, by whom they were civilly received, and from whom they drew the riches of Asia.

Venice and Genoa, so powerful in the sequel, by means of trade, had not yet engrossed the riches of the nations, although Venice began to grow wealthy and great.

Rome, Ravenna, Lyons, Arles, and Tours had a great many woollen manufactures, iron was damasked, glass was made, silk stuffs were not woven in any city of the West.

The Venetians began to bring them from Constantinople, where they were not known till after the Emperor Justinian; but it was not till nearly four hundred years after Charlemagne that the Moors fabricated silk at Cordova, and the Norman princes who conquered the kingdom of Naples and Sicily afterwards established a silk manufactory at Palermo. Almost all the works of industry and craft were performed in the empire of the East. Linen was uncommon. St. Boniface, in a letter written to a bishop settled in Germany, desires he will send him some shagged cloth to wipe his feet after washing. This want of linen was, in all probability, the cause of that disease of the skin, known by the name of leprosy, so rife in those days; for there was already a great number of those hospitals called Lazars.

It is pretended that even in the time of Charlemagne great projects were formed for the benefit of commerce, as they had actually begun the famous

canal, which was to join the Rhine to the Danube, and thus open a communication between the Black Sea and the ocean. But the spirit of conquest might have had a greater share in this undertaking than any view to public utility.

Money had nearly the same value as that of the Roman empire after Constantine. The golden sol was the *solidum Romanum,* which the barbarians called "sol" from their known habit of contracting all names. Thus of *"Augustus"* they made *"Août;" of "Forum Julii," "Fréjus;"* and this golden sol was equivalent to forty deniers of silver through the whole extent of Charlemagne's dominions.

THE CHURCH.

The churches of France were rich, those of Germany began to be rich, and were destined one day to be more so, because they were endowed with larger territories. The bishops and abbots had a great number of slaves. The abbot Alcuin, preceptor to Charlemagne, is reproached with having had twenty thousand. This number is not incredible. Alcuin possessed three abbeys, the lands of which had been inhabited by twenty thousand men, all belonging to the lord or superior. These slaves, known under the name of "serfs," could not marry nor change the place of their abode without the permission of the abbot. They were obliged to go fifty leagues with their carts, if he commanded them.

They worked for him three days in the week, and he shared all the fruits of the earth.

In France and in Germany the bishops more than once have been known to go to battle with their serfs. Charlemagne, in a letter to one of his wives, called Frastada, mentions a bishop who had valiantly fought by his side, in a battle against the Avars, a people descended from the Scythians, who were settled towards the country which is now called Austria.

We find in his time fourteen monasteries which were obliged to furnish soldiers. If the abbot was in the least inclined to war, nothing hindered him from heading them in person; true it is in the year 803, a parliament complained to Charlemagne, that too great a number of priests had been slain in war. Then the ministers of the altar were forbidden to go to battle, but custom was the stronger law.

We see in the Bavarian laws and the "*Capitularies*" of Charlemagne, that the priests were forbidden to have any women in their houses other than their mothers and sisters: this was one of those laws which are contradicted by custom.

No person was allowed to call himself clerk who was not really so, or to wear the tonsure without belonging to a bishop. Such clerks were called "*acephali*," and punished as vagabonds. They were ignorant of the station so common in our days, which is neither secular nor ecclesiastic. The title of "*abbot*," which signifies father, belonged to none

but the chiefs of monasteries, or even to seculars constituted in dignity; for example, that title was given to the chief of the republic of Genoa.

The abbots of that time had the pastoral staff which the bishops carried, and which had been the mark of the augural dignity in pagan Rome. Such was the power those abbots had over their monks, that they sometimes condemned them to the most cruel afflictive pains. They were the first who adopted the barbarous custom of the Greek emperors, namely, that of burning the eyes, and a council was obliged to prohibit this outrage, which they began to look upon as a right and prerogative.

As to the ceremonies of the Church, the mass was different from what it is at present, and still more different from what it had been in the first ages: there was no more than one said in every church. And kings very rarely caused them to be said in private.

The first auricular confession, which is called general confession, is that of St. Eloy in the sixth century. The enemies of the Roman Church, who have revolted against such a salutary institution, seem to have divested mankind of the most effectual bridle to restrain their secret crimes. Even the very sages of antiquity had felt the importance of it; and although they had not been able to impose it as a duty on all men, they had established the practice of it among those who pretended to lead a life of purity: it was the first expiation of those who were

initiated among the ancient Egyptians, and in the Eleusinian Mysteries of Ceres. Thus has the Christian religion consecrated things, the shadow of which God had permitted human wisdom to perceive and embrace.

Religion was not yet extended to the north farther than the conquests of Charlemagne. Denmark and all the country of the Normans were plunged in gross idolatry. The inhabitants adored Odin; they imagined that after death, the happiness of man consisted in drinking beer out of the skulls of their enemies in Odin's hall. We still have translations of their old songs which express this notion. It was a great deal for them to believe in another life. Poland was neither less barbarous nor less idolatrous. The Muscovites, more savage than all the other inhabitants of Great Tartary, knew scarcely enough of religion to be Pagans. Yet all these nations lived quietly and peaceably in their ignorance, happy in being unknown to Charlemagne, who sold the knowledge of Christianity so dear.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

Justice was usually administered by counts appointed by the king. They had their respective districts assigned, and were supposed to be acquainted with the laws, which were neither so numerous nor obscure as ours: the proceedings were simple, and every man pleaded his own cause in France and Germany.

Rome alone and her dependencies still retained abundance of the laws and formalities of the Roman Empire; the Lombard laws prevailed through the rest of northern Italy.

Every count had under him a lieutenant called "*viguier,*" seven assessors (*scabini*) chosen in the city. Like the ancient Roman senators, they were at once warriors and judges. Nay, they were forbidden to appear upon the tribunal without their bucklers; but, under Charlemagne, no other citizens or even soldiers were allowed to go armed in time of peace. This wise law, conformable to that of the Romans and Mussulmans, prevented those quarrels and continual duels which afterwards desolated Europe, when the fashion was introduced of never quitting the sword, but of going armed into the houses of friends, courts of judicature, and churches; an abuse carried to such a length that in Spain, Germany, and Flanders, the judge, the counsellor, the solicitor, and physician walk at this day with their swords by their sides, as if they were going to fight.

Those counts published in their jurisdiction the order of marching to war, enlisting soldiers under captains or companies of a hundred, conducted them to the rendezvous of the troops, and in the meantime left their lieutenants to act as judges in the boroughs, for I dare not call them cities.

The king sent commissaries with express letters, *Missi Dominici*, to examine the conduct of

the counts: but those commissaries and counts seldom condemned a criminal to death or to any corporal punishment. For, excepting Saxony, where Charlemagne exacted sanguinary laws, almost all sorts of crimes were punished by fine through the rest of his empire; that of rebellion alone was punished with death, and the kings reserved the judgment to themselves. The Salic law, that of the Lombards and of the *Ripuarii,* had set fixed prices upon the greatest part of all the other outrages which are now punished with the loss of life, or by severe penalties. This jurisprudence, which appears humane, was in effect more cruel than our own: it left everybody who could pay for it, at liberty to do mischief. The gentlest law is that which by bridling iniquity in the most terrible manner, prevents the frequent commission of crimes.

By the ancient laws reduced under Dagobert, king of the Franks, it cost one hundred sols to cut off a man's ear; and if the loss of the ear was not attended with deafness, the perpetrator was quit for fifty.

The murder of a deacon was taxed at four hundred sols, and that of a parish priest at six hundred.

The third chapter of the Ripuary law allows the murderer of a bishop to atone the crime by paying as much gold as will balance a leaden tunic as long as the delinquent, and of a determined thickness.

The Salic law, revived under Charlemagne, fixes

the price of a bishop's life at four hundred sols. It is so true that a criminal could redeem his life in this manner, that a number of those laws are thus expressed: *Componat tercentum, ducentum, centum solidis.* The delinquent may compound for three hundred, two hundred, or one hundred sols.

The torture was applied to slaves only, and he who by the torture occasioned the death of an innocent slave belonging to another man, was obliged to give him two by way of satisfaction.

Charlemagne, who corrected the Salic and Lombard laws, did nothing but raise the price of crimes. They were all specified, and a distinction made between the price of a stroke that bared the brain, and one that only cut off one of the tables of the skull: the first was valued at forty-five sols, and the other at twenty.

A witch convicted of having eaten human flesh was condemned to pay two hundred sols: And this article is a proof very humbling to human nature, of the excess to which we may be driven by superstition.

All outrages against chastity had likewise their fixed prices. The rape of a married woman cost two hundred sols. For having violated a girl cn the highway, they paid but forty sols. Whosoever carried off a girl of servile condition, was fined four sols, and obliged to restore her to her mother. The most severe of those barbarous laws was precisely that which ought to have been the most gentle. Char-

lemagne himself, in the sixth book of his "*Capitularies*," says that a man's marrying his godmother is a crime worthy of death, which can be atoned for in no other way but by spending his whole life in pilgrimage.

Among the Salic laws there is one which strongly denotes the contempt into which the Romans were fallen with those barbarous people: The Frank who had slain a Roman citizen, paid no more than 1,050 deniers; whereas the Roman paid 2,500 for the blood of a Frank.

In criminal causes that could not be otherwise decided, the accused party purged himself by oath, and not only himself, but he was obliged to produce a certain number of witnesses to swear to the same effect. When both parties opposed oath to oath, the combat was sometimes permitted.

These combats we know were appeals to the judgment of God: this is the name they gave to the most deplorable follies of those barbarous governments. The accused were subjected to the proof of cold water, boiling water, or red hot iron. The celebrated Stephen Baluze has collected all the ancient ceremonies of those trials. They began with the mass, the accused person was excommunicated, the cold water was blessed and exorcised, and then, being bound with cords, he was thrown into the water. If he sank to the bottom, he was reputed innocent; but if he floated on the surface, he was found guilty. M. de Fleury, in his "Ecclesiastical

History," says it was a sure way to find no person criminal. "I dare say, it was a way by which many innocent persons perished. There are many men whose breasts are so large, and whose lungs are so light, as to hinder them from sinking, especially when a thick cord with which they are tied in several circumvolutions, constitutes, with the body, a volume specifically lighter than the same quantity of water." This wretched custom, since proscribed in large cities, is preserved even to our days in many provinces; and those who incurred the imputation of sorcery have been often subjected to it, even by the sentence of the judge; for nothing endures so long as superstition, and more than one unfortunate wretch has lost his life by the trial.

The judgment of God, by means of hot water, was executed by compelling the accused to plunge his naked arm into a tub of boiling water and take up from the bottom a consecrated ring. The judge, in presence of the priests and the people, enclosed the patient's arm in a bag sealed with his own seal: and if in three days thereafter no mark of a scald appeared, or if the mark was thought inconsiderable, his innocence was acknowledged. We plainly see that the judges could warp these strange laws according to their own pleasure, seeing it was in their power to decide whether or not the cicatrix was considerable enough to constitute the crime.

793 — Charles being neighbor to the Huns, of consequence becomes their natural enemy. He levies

troops against them, and girds his son Louis with the sword in the fourteenth year of his age. He makes him what was then called *Miles,* that is, instructs him in the art of war; but this was not creating him knight, as some authors have imagined. Chivalry was not established until a long time after this period. He again defeats the Huns upon the Danube and upon the Raab.

Charles assembles the bishops to judge the doctrine of Elipand, archbishop of Toledo. One may be amazed to find an archbishop of Toledo at that time when the Mussulmans were masters in Spain; but we must know that the Mussulmans, though victors, left liberty of conscience to the vanquished; that they did not think the Christians were worthy to be Mussulmans, and contented themselves with imposing a slight tribute upon them.

This Elipand imagined, like Felix d'Urgel, that Jesus Christ, as man was the adopted son, but, as God, was the natural son, of God the Father. It was a difficult point to resolve by one's self; therefore it was referred to judges, by whom the doctrine was condemned.

While Charles obtains victories, enacts laws, and assembles bishops, a conspiracy is formed against him. He had a son by one of his wives or concubines, called Pepin the Hunchback, to distinguish him from his other son, Pepin, king of Italy. Such children as are now called bastards, and deprived of inheritance, were capable of inheriting at that time,

and were not reputed bastards. Hunchback, though the eldest of all the sons, had no portion, and this is the origin of the conspiracy. He is apprehended with his accomplices at Ratisbon, tried by a parliament, shaved, and sent to the monastery of Prum in the Ardennes. Some of his adherents have their eyes cut out, and others are beheaded.

794 — The Saxons revolt again, and are again easily defeated. Wittikind was no longer at their head.

The famous Council of Frankfort. Here was condemned the Second Council of Nice, in which the Empress Irene had re-established the worship of images.

Charlemagne causes the "Carolin-Books" to be written against image-worship. Rome did not then think like the kingdom of the Franks; but this difference of opinion did not create any quarrel between Charlemagne and the pope, to whom his friendship was necessary.

795 — The duke of Friuli, a vassal of Charles, is sent against the Huns, and makes himself master of their treasures, supposing they had any. Pope Adrian dies December 25. Charlemagne is said to have written his epitaph in Latin verse; but one can hardly believe that this king of the Franks, who could not write, should nevertheless be capable of making Latin verses.

976 — Leo III. succeeds Adrian, and Charles writes to him thus: "We rejoice at your election,

and that you pay us that obedience and fidelity which is our due." In this manner he expresses himself as a patrician of Rome, and thus his father expressed himself to the Franks as mayor of the palace.

797-798 — Pepin, king of Italy, is sent by his father against the Huns; a sure sign that the former victories were not very complete. He obtains a new one. The celebrated Empress Irene is shut up in a cloister by her son Constantine V. She reascends the throne; causes her son's eyes to be put out: he dies of the operation, and she laments his death. This Irene, although the natural enemy of Charlemagne, was desirous of being allied to him.

799 — At this period the Normans, that is "men of the North," who inhabited the coasts of the Baltic, were pirates. Charles equips a fleet and clears the seas of them.

The new pope, Leo III., incurs the resentment of the Romans; his canons resolve to put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue. The attempt is made, but he recovers of his wounds; he comes to Paderborn to demand justice of Charles, who sends him back to Rome with an escort. Charles follows him in a little time; sends his son Pepin to seize the duchy of Beneventum, which is still held by the emperor of Constantinople.

800 — He arrives at Rome; declares the pope innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, and the pope declares him emperor amidst the acclamations of the people. Charlemagne affects to conceal his

joy under the cloak of modesty, and seems astonished at his glory; he acts as the sovereign of Rome, and renews the empire of the Cæsars; but to render that empire durable, there was a necessity for his remaining at Rome.

801 — Historians allege that as soon as he was emperor, Irene expressed a desire of being married to him. Such a marriage would rather have been between the two empires than between Charlemagne and Irene, who was an old woman.

802 — Charlemagne exerts all the authority of the old emperors. No country from Beneventum to Bayonne, and from Bayonne to Bavaria, was exempted from his legislative power. John, duke of Venice, having assassinated a bishop, is accused before Charles, and does not object to him as a judge.

Nicephorus, successor to Irene, acknowledges Charles as emperor, without coming to any agreement about the limits of the two empires.

803-804 — The emperor applies himself to the establishment of police in his dominions, as much as the times would permit. He again disperses the factions of the Saxons, and at last transports part of that people to Flanders, Provence, Italy, and Rome itself.

805 — He dictates his last will, which begins thus: "Charles, Emperor, Cæsar, the most invincible king of the Franks," etc. He bequeaths to Louis all the country from Spain to the Rhine; he leaves Italy

and Bavaria to Pepin, and to Charles, France from the Loire to Ingoldstadt, and all Austrasia from the Scheldt to the confines of Brandenburg. In these three lots there was subject for eternal divisions. Charlemagne thought to prevent all dissensions, by ordaining that if any difference should happen about the limits of these kingdoms, which could not be decided by evidence, they should appeal to the "Judgment of the Cross." This consisted in making the opposite advocates stand with their arms extended, and he who was first wearied lost the cause. The natural good sense of so great a conqueror could not overbalance the customs of the age.

Charlemagne still retains the empire and the sovereignty, and was king of the kings, his children. This famous will was made at Thionville with the approbation of a parliament The parliament was composed of bishops, abbots, officers of the palace, and the army, who attended for no other reason but to attest the will of an absolute master. The diets were not then what they are now; and that vast republic of princes, noblemen, and free towns under one chief, was not then established.

806 — The famous Haroun, caliph of Bagdad, the new Babylon, sends ambassadors and presents to Charlemagne. The nations bestowed upon Haroun a title superior to that of Charlemagne; the emperor of the West was surnamed "The Great," but the caliph was surnamed "The Just."

It is not surprising that Haroun-al-Raschid should send ambassadors to the French emperor; they were both enemies to the emperor of the East; but what would be surprising is that a caliph, as our historians allege, should propose the cession of Jerusalem to Charlemagne. It would have been a profanation in the caliph to yield up to Christians a city full of mosques, and this profanation would have cost him his throne and life. Besides, enthusiasm had not as yet summoned the Christians of the West to Jerusalem.

Charles convokes a council at Aix-la-Chapelle. This council adds to the creed, "that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son." This addition was not then received at Rome, but the Romans adopted it soon after. Thus some dogmas are established by little and little.

At this period the people called Normans, Danes, and Scandinavians, reinforced by the ancient Saxons, who had retired among them, presumed to menace the coast of the new empire. Charles crosses the Elbe, and Godfrey, chief of all those Barbarians, in order to defend himself, draws a large trench between the ocean and the Baltic, on the confines of Holstein, the ancient Cimbrian Chersonesus, and fortifies this trench with a strong palisade. In the same manner the Romans had drawn an entrenchment between England and Scotland: feeble imitations of the famous Chinese wall.

807-809 — Treaties with the Danes. Laws for

the Saxons. Police established in the empire. Small fleets stationed at the mouths of rivers.

810 — Pepin, that son of Charlemagne to whom his father had given the kingdom of Italy, dies of the plague, in the month of July, leaving a bastard called Bernard. The emperor, without difficulty, bestows Italy on this bastard, as the natural heir, according to the custom of the time.

811 — A fleet stationed at Boulogne in the channel. A light-house rebuilt at Boulogne. Würzburg built. The death of Prince Charles, destined for the empire.

813 — The emperor associates his son Louis in the empire, in the month of March, at Aix-la-Chapelle. All present are obliged to give their votes for this association. He gives the city of Ulm to the monks, who treat the inhabitants like slaves. He gives lands to Eginard, the supposed lover of his daughter Emma. The romances are full of fable worthy of Archbishop Turpin, concerning this Eginard and that pretended daughter of the emperor; but, unfortunately for the author, Charlemagne never had a daughter of that name.

814 — He dies of a pleurisy after seven days' illness, on January 28, at three in the morning. He had no physician near him who knew what a pleurisy was. Medicine, like almost all the other arts, was known to none but the Arabians and Greeks of Constantinople.

LOUIS LE DÉBONNAIRE, OR THE WEAK.

SECOND EMPEROR.

814 — Louis hastens from Aquitaine to Aix-la-Chapelle, and puts himself in full possession of the empire. He was born in 778 to Charlemagne by one of his wives, called Ildegarde, daughter of a German duke. He is said to have had beauty, strength, health, and address at all his exercises, and to have understood Latin and Greek; but he was weak and unfortunate. His empire was bounded on the north by the Baltic and Denmark, the ocean on the west, the Mediterranean, Adriatic, and Pyrenees on the south, and the Vistula and Tanais on the east. The duke of Beneventum was his feudatory, and paid him annually seven thousand crowns of gold for his duchy; a very considerable sum at that time. The territory of Beneventum extended much farther at that time than now, and constituted the boundary of the two empires.

815 — The first step that Louis took was to shut up all his sisters in convents, and all their lovers in jail, a measure for which he was not beloved, either in his own family, or in the state; the second was to augment the privileges of all the churches; the third was to incense his nephew, Bernard, king of Italy, who came to take the oath of fidelity, and saw all his friends exiled.

816 — Stephen IV. is elected bishop of Rome and pope by the Roman people, without consulting the

emperor; but he makes the people swear obedience and fidelity to Louis, to whom he carries the oath in person to Rheims. He crowns the emperor and his wife Ermengarde; and returns to Rome in the month of October, with a decree importing that for the future the popes shall be elected in presence of the emperor's ambassadors.

817 — Louis associates his eldest son Lotharius in the empire. This was hastening matters considerably. He made Pepin, his second son, king of Aquitaine; and erects Bavaria, with some neighboring countries, into a kingdom for his youngest son Louis. All three are dissatisfied; Lotharius, at being an emperor without power; the two others, with the smallness of their dominions; and Bernard, king of Italy, nephew to the emperor, more dissatisfied than all the rest.

818 — The emperor Louis thought himself emperor of Rome, and Bernard, grandson of Charlemagne, would have no master in Italy. It is plain that Charlemagne in his division had acted more like a parent than a politician, and laid the foundation of civil wars for his family. The emperor and Bernard had recourse to arms, and meet at Châlons-sur-Saône. Bernard, who was probably more ambitious than warlike, loses part of his army without fighting; and submits to the mercy of Louis le Débonnaire, who orders the eyes of his nephew, Bernard, and all his partisans to be put out. The operation was not expertly performed upon Bernard,

who dies three days after he had undergone it. This custom of putting out the eyes of princes was very much practiced by the Greek emperors, unknown to the caliphs, and prohibited by Charlemagne.

819 — The emperor loses his wife, Ermengarde, and hesitates whether he shall become a monk or marry again. He takes to wife one Judith, daughter of a Bavarian count. He pacifies some troubles in Pannonia, and holds diets at Aix-la-Chapelle.

820 — His generals retake Carniola and Carinthia from the barbarians, who had conquered these provinces.

821 — Several ecclesiastics inspire the emperor Louis with remorse for the punishment he had inflicted upon his nephew, King Bernard, and the monasterial captivity in which he held three of his own brothers, whose names were Drogan, Thierri, and Hugues, contrary to the promise he had made to Charlemagne to take care of their fortune. Those ecclesiastics were in the right. It is a consolation to mankind that there are everywhere men who can, in the name of the Divinity, inspire princes with remorse; but there they ought to stop, without persecuting and debasing them.

822 — The bishops and abbots impose a public penance on the emperor. He appears in the assembly of Attigny covered with haircloth. He gives archbishoprics and abbeys to his brothers, whom he had made monks against their inclination. He implores forgiveness of God for the death of Bernard;

this might have been done without haircloth and public penance, which rendered the emperor ridiculous.

823 — What were more dangerous circumstances, Lotharius, whom he had associated in the empire, caused himself to be crowned at Rome by Pope Paschal; the empress Judith, his mother-in-law, brought him a brother; and the Romans neither loved nor valued the emperor. One of the great faults of Louis was his neglecting to fix the state of empire at Rome. Pope Paschal, without remission, put out the eyes of all those who preached obedience to emperors; but afterwards he swore before God that he had no share in these executions, and the emperor said not a word.

The empress Judith is delivered at Compiègne of a son, who is called Charles. Lotharius was then returned from Rome. His father, Louis, the emperor, exacts of him an oath, importing that he would consent to give some kingdom to this child; a kind of oath, the violation of which he might have foreseen.

824 — Pope Paschal dies. The Romans will not allow him to be buried. Lotharius, on his return to Rome, causes informations to be taken against his memory. The process is dropped. Lotharius, as emperor and sovereign of Rome, makes laws for the protection of the popes; but in these very laws, he names the pope before himself; an extremely dangerous piece of inattention.

Pope Stephen II. takes the oath of fidelity to the two emperors, but there it is expressly said it was of his own free will. The clergy and the Roman people swear they will never suffer a pope to be elected without the consent of the emperor. They swear fealty to their lords Louis and Lotharius, but add, "saving the fidelity we have promised to our lord the pope."

It seems that in all the oaths of those times there were clauses by which they were in effect annulled. Armorica or Brittany would not then acknowledge the empire. Those people had no right, but that in common to all men, to be free; but in less than forty days they were obliged to yield to the stronger power.

825 — One Heriolt, duke of the Danes, comes to the court of Louis to embrace the Christian religion; but this was because he had been expelled from his own dominions. The emperor sends Anscharius, a monk of Corbie, to preach Christianity in the deserts where Stockholm is now actually built. He founds the bishopric of Hamburg for this Anscharius, and from Hamburg the missionaries are to set out, in order to convert the North.

New Corbie is founded in Westphalia for the same purpose. The abbot, instead of being a missionary, is now a prince of the empire.

826 — While Louis is employed at Aix-la-Chapelle, about the missions of the North, the Moorish kings of Spain send troops into Aquitaine, and war

is carried on near the Pyrenees between the Mussulmans and the Christians; but it is soon terminated by agreement.

827 — The emperor Louis causes councils to be held at Mentz, Paris, and Toulouse. He repents of this measure. The Council of Paris writes to him and his son Lotharius: "We entreat your excellencies to remember, after the example of Constantine, that the bishops have a right to judge you, and that bishops cannot be judged by man."

Louis bestows upon his young son Charles, in the cradle, what was then called Germany, situate between the Main, the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Danube; to this he added Transjurane Burgundy, comprehending the country of Geneva and Switzerland.

The three other children of Louis resent this partition, and at first excite the exclamations of the whole empire.

828 — Judith, mother of Charles, that infant king of Germany, governed her husband, the emperor, and was governed by one Bernard, count of Barcelona, her gallant, whom she had placed at the head of affairs.

829 — So many weaknesses gave birth to factions. An abbot, called Vala, a relative of Louis, begins a conspiracy against the emperor. His three children — Lotharius associated with him in the empire, Pepin, to whom he had given Aquitaine, and Louis,

who had received Bavaria from his bounty, declared against their father.

An abbot of St. Denis, who had at the same time St. Médard de Soissons and St. Germain, promises to levy troops for their service. The bishops of Vienna, Amiens, and Lyons declare all those who will not join them, "rebels to God and the Church." This was not the first time the world had seen civil war preached up in the name of God; but it was the first time any father had at one time seen three of his own children rebellious and unnatural in the name of God.

830 — Each of these rebellious sons had an army; and the father had but a handful of troops, with which he fled from Aix-la-Chapelle to Picardy. He set out on Ash Wednesday, a circumstance trifling in itself, but become eternally memorable by its having been imputed to him as a crime equal to sacrilege.

At first a remnant of respect for the paternal and imperial authority, which had mixed with the rebellion, induces them to give Louis the Weak the hearing in an assembly at Compiègne. There he promised to be ruled by the advice of his son, King Pepin, and that of the priests, and to make his wife a nun, but until a decisive resolution can be taken Pepin, according to the custom of the times, puts out the eyes of Bernard, that gallant of Judith who thought himself secure; and his brother underwent the same fate.

Those who have a taste for the researches of

antiquity are of opinion that Bernard preserved his eyes, and that his brother suffered for him. True knowledge does not consist in the investigation of these things; but in knowing the barbarous customs which prevailed at that time, the weakness of the government, the misery of nations, and the power of the clergy.

Lotharius arrives from Italy: he puts the emperor, his father, in prison, in the hands of monks. One of these, whose name was Gombaud, having more address than his fellows, serves the emperor with great dexterity, and effects his deliverance. Lotharius at length begs pardon of his father at Nimeguen. The three brothers are divided among themselves, and the emperor, at the mercy of those by whom he is governed, leaves the whole empire in confusion.

831 — Diets are assembled and armies raised on all hands. The empire becomes an anarchy. Louis of Bavaria enters the country called Germany and makes his peace at the head of an army.

Pepin is made prisoner. Lotharius is taken into favor; and in every treaty a new rebellion is projected.

832 — The empress Judith takes the advantage of a lucky moment to strip Pepin of the kingdom of Aquitaine and give it to her son Charles — that is, to herself, in the name of her son. If the emperor Louis the Weak had not given away so many kingdoms he would have been able to keep his own.

Lotharius, under pretext of dethroning his brother Pepin, arrives from Italy with an army, and with that army brings Pope Gregory IV. to inspire more respect and excite more trouble.

833 — Some bishops attached to the emperor Louis, particularly those of Germany, write to the Pope: "If thou art come to excommunicate, thou shalt return excommunicated." But the party of Lotharius, of the other rebellious sons, and the pope, prevailed. The rebel and papal army advances to the neighborhood of Basel against the imperial army. The pope writes to the bishops: "Know that the authority of my chair is greater than that of the throne of Louis." In order to prove that assertion, he negotiates with that emperor and deceives him. The field in which they negotiated is called "the field of deceit." He seduced the emperor's officers and soldiers. That unfortunate father surrenders himself to his rebellious sons Lotharius and Louis of Bavaria on the single condition that they should not put out the eyes of his wife and his son Charles, who was with him.

The rebellious Lotharius sends his mother-in-law prisoner to Tortona, his father to the abbey of St. Médard, and his brother Charles to the monastery of Prum. He assembles a diet at Compiègne, and thence adjourns to Soissons.

An archbishop of Rheims, called Ebbon, taken from a servile condition against the laws, and elevated to that dignity by Louis himself, deposes his

sovereign and benefactor. The monarch is compelled to appear before this prelate, surrounded by thirty bishops, canons and monks in the church of Notre Dame, at Soissons. Lotharius is present at the humiliation of the father. A haircloth is spread before the altar. The archbishop commands the emperor to take off his baldric, sword, and habit, and prostrate himself upon this haircloth. Louis, with his face towards the earth, implores of his own accord public penance, which he deserved but too well by this abject submission. The archbishop compels him to read aloud the list of his crimes, among which it is specified that he had ordered his troops to march on Ash Wednesday, and convoked a parliament on Holy Thursday. They constitute a verbal process of this whole transaction, a monument of insolence and meanness still extant. In this process they did not even deign to call Louis by the name of emperor.

Louis the Weak continues shut up for the space of a year, in a cell of the convent of St. Médard at Soissons, clothed in sackcloth, without servants, without consolation. Had he had but one son, he would have been lost forever; but his three children quarrelled about his spoils, and their dissensions soon restored liberty and the crown to their father. At this time of anarchy, the Normans, that is an assemblage of Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Pomeranians and Livonians, infested the coasts of the empire. They burned the new bishopric of Ham-

burg, sacked and plundered Friesland, showed by anticipation the miseries they would one day occasion, and there was no other way taken to expel them, but paying a sum of money, which invited them to return again.

834 — Louis, king of Bavaria, and Pepin, king of Aquitaine, resolve to deliver their father, because they are dissatisfied with their brother Lotharius, who is forced to consent to his enlargement. The emperor is re-established at St. Denis, near Paris, but he dares not resume the crown, till after he is absolved by the bishops.

835 — As soon as he is absolved, he is enabled to levy troops. Lotharius restores his wife Judith and his son Charles. An assembly at Thionville anathematizes that of Soissons. It costs the archbishop Ebbon no more than the loss of his see; besides, he was only deposed in the vestry; whereas, the emperor had been degraded at the foot of the altar.

836 — This whole year is spent in fruitless negotiations, and marked by public calamities.

837 — Louis the Weak is taken ill. A comet appears: "Fail not," said the emperor to his astrologer, "to let me know what that comet signifies." The astrologer answers that it portended the death of a great prince. The emperor did not doubt but it was his own; prepares himself for death, and recovers. That same year the comet had its effect

upon his son, King Pepin. This was a new source of trouble.

838 — The emperor Louis has now but two children to fear, instead of three. Louis of Bavaria rebels again, and again begs pardon.

839 — Lotharius likewise begs pardon in order to have Aquitaine. The emperor makes a new partition of his dominions, takes everything from the children of Pepin lately dead. To Italy, possessed by the rebel Lotharius, he adds Burgundy, Lyons, Franche-Comté, part of Lorraine, of the Palatinate, of Trier, Cologne, Alsace, Franconia, Nuremberg, Thuringia, Saxony, and Friesland. He gives to his beloved Charles, the son of Judith, all that lies between the Loire, the Rhone, the Meuse, and the ocean. By this partition, he again finds the secret to disgust his children and grandchildren. Louis of Bavaria takes arms against him.

840 — Louis, the emperor, dies at length of chagrin. Before his death he makes presents to his children. Some partisans of Louis of Bavaria, expostulating with him on account of his having given nothing to that unnatural son, " I forgive him," said he, " but let him know he is the cause of my death."

His will confirms the donation of Pepin and Charlemagne to the Church of Rome, which owes everything to the kings of the Franks. One is surprised in reading the charter called *"Carta divisionis,"* to find him adding Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily to those presents. Sardinia and Sicily

were disputed between the Mussulmans and some Christian adventurers, which last had recourse to the popes, from whom they received bulls and charity. They consented to hold of the popes; but at that time, in order to acquire that right of fief or dependence, the popes ought to have demanded it of the emperors. It is not known whether or not Louis the Weak actually ceded the superiority of Sardinia and Corsica. As for Sicily, it belonged to the emperors of the East.

Louis expires June 20, 840.

LOTHARIUS.

THIRD EMPEROR.

841 — In a little time after the death of his son Charlemagne's empire underwent the destiny of Alexander's, and of the greatness of the caliphs. Raised with precipitation, it tumbled all at once, and was divided by intestine wars.

It is not at all surprising that princes who had dethroned their father should wish to exterminate one another. Every one vied in stripping his brother. Lotharius, the emperor, wanted to have the whole. Louis of Bavaria and Charles, the son of Judith, united against him. They laid waste the empire and drained it of soldiers. The two kings fought a bloody battle with their brother at Fontenoy in the Auxerois. A hundred thousand men are said to have

been lost on this occasion. Lotharius was victor. Then he exhibited to the world an example of policy quite contrary to that of Charlemagne. The conqueror of the Saxons and Frieslanders had subjected them to Christianity as a necessary check. Lotharius, in order to attach them to his interest, gives them free liberty of conscience, and one-half of the country becomes idolatrous again.

842 — The two brothers, Louis of Bavaria and Charles of Aquitaine, unite by that famous oath which is almost the only monument extant of the language called Romance: *Pro Deo amur et pro Christian poblo, and nostro commun salvament dinst di in avant, in quant Deos savir and podir me dunat, etc.* This language is still spoken in the Grisons of the valley of Engadina.

843-844 — An assembly is held at Verdun for a a treaty of partition between the three brothers. They fight and negotiate from the Rhine to the Alps. Italy waits in tranquillity until the fate of arms shall give her a master.

845 — While the three brothers tear in pieces the bosom of the empire, the Normans continue to lay waste the frontiers with impunity. At length the three brothers sign the famous treaty of partition, terminated at Coblentz by a hundred and twenty deputies. Lotharius remains emperor. He possesses Italy, part of Burgundy, the course of the Rhine, the Scheldt and the Meuse. Louis of Bavaria keeps all the rest of Germany. Charles, after-

wards surnamed the Bald, is king of France. The emperor renounces all authority over these two brothers. Thus he is no more than emperor of Italy, without being master of Rome. All the great officers and noblemen of the three kingdoms acknowledge, by an authentic act, the division of the three brothers, and the succession entailed upon their children.

Pope Sergius II. is elected by the Roman people, and takes possession of the chair, without waiting for the confirmation of the emperor Lotharius. That prince is not powerful enough to avenge the affront, but sends his son Louis to Rome to confirm the pope's election, in order to preserve his right, and that the youth may be crowned king of the Lombards or of Italy. He likewise procures a regulation at Rome in an assembly of bishops, ordering that no pope shall be consecrated without the confirmation of the emperor.

Meanwhile, Louis in Germany is obliged to fight, sometimes with the Huns, sometimes with the Normans, and sometimes with the Bohemians. These Bohemians, together with the Silesians and Moravians, were idolatrous barbarians who made incursions upon the Christian barbarians with varying success.

The emperor Lotharius and Charles the Bald have still more to suffer in their dominions. The provinces from the Alps to the Rhine no longer know whom to obey.

There is a faction raised in favor of a son of that unfortunate Pepin, king of Aquitaine, who had been stripped by his father, Louis the Weak. Several tyrants made themselves masters of several towns. Small battles were everywhere fought, and in these there were always a number of monks, abbots, and bishops slain sword in hand. Hugues, that son of Charlemagne, who was compelled to be a monk, afterwards abbot of St. Quentin, is killed before Toulouse, together with the abbot of Ferriere; two bishops are there made prisoners. The Normans ravage the coasts of France. Charles the Bald makes no other opposition to them, but enters into an obligation to pay them fourteen thousand silver marks, which was a sure way of inviting them to return.

847 — The Emperor Lotharius, no less unfortunate, cedes Friesland to the Normans, by the title of homage. This fatal custom of receiving enemies for vassals, paves the way for the settlement of those pirates of Normandy.

848 — While the Normans ravage the coasts of France, the Saracens enter Italy: make themselves masters of Sicily, advance towards Rome by the mouth of the Tiber, and plunder the rich church of St. Peter without the walls.

Pope Leo IV., in such a dangerous juncture, assuming an authority which the generals of the emperor Lotharius seemed to abandon, shows himself worthy in defending Rome to command as

sovereign in that city. He had employed the riches of the church in repairing the walls, building towers, and stretching chains across the Tiber. He armed the militia at his own expense, engaged the inhabitants of Naples and Gaeta to come and defend the coast of Ostia, without neglecting the wise precaution of taking hostages from them, well knowing that those who are powerful enough to succor us, have also the power to do us harm. He in person visited all the posts and received the Saracens at their descent, not in the equipage of a warrior, like Goslin, bishop of Paris, upon a still more pressing occasion, but as a pontiff who exhorted a Christian people, and a king who watched over the safety of his subjects. In him the courage of the first ages of the republic revived in the age of cowardice and corruption, like a fair monument of old Rome, which is sometimes found in the ruins of the new.

The Arabians are defeated and the prisoners are employed in building a new wall around St. Peter's, and in aggrandizing the city which they came to destroy.

Lotharius associates his son, Louis, in his feeble empire. The Mussulmans are driven from Beneventum, but they remain in the Guarillan and in Calabria.

849 — New discord among the brothers, and among the bishops and noblemen, which renders the people still more unhappy. Some Frank and German bishops declare the emperor Lotharius has for-

feited the empire. They had no right to make this declaration, either as bishops or Germans and Franks, seeing he was only emperor of Italy. It was therefore a fruitless outrage. Lotharius was happier than his father.

850-852 — A reconciliation is effected among the three brothers. The empire is harassed by new incursions of all the barbarians bordering upon the empire.

In the midst of these horrors the missionary Anscharius, bishop of Hamburg, persuades one Eric, chief, or duke, or king of Denmark, to allow the Christian religion in his dominions. He obtains the same permission in Sweden. But the Swedes and Danes, nevertheless, make incursions upon the Christians.

853-854 — Amidst these desolations of France and Germany the weakness of Italy, threatened by the Mussulmans, the misgovernment of Louis of Italy, son of Lotharius, given up to debauchery at Pavia, and despised in Rome, the emperor of Constantinople negotiates with the pope for the recovery of Rome; but that emperor was no other than Michael, still more debauched and despised than Louis of Italy; and all these circumstances had no other effect than that of increasing the power of the pope.

855 — The emperor Lotharius, who had made his father, Louis the Weak, a monk, now makes himself a monk in his turn, induced by the troubles of his empire, the fear of death, and superstition. He

takes the habit in the abbey of Prum, and on September 18 dies like a simpleton, after having lived as a tyrant.

LOUIS II.

FOURTH EMPEROR.

856 — After the death of this third emperor of the West, new kingdoms arose in Europe. Louis of Italy, his eldest son, remains at Pavia, with the vain title of Emperor of the West. The second son, called Lotharius, after his father, has the kingdom of Lotharingia, afterwards called Lorraine, extended from Geneva to Strasburg and Utrecht. The third, whose name was Charles, possessed Savoy, Dauphiny, with part of Lyonnais, Provence, and Languedoc. These dominions composed the kingdom of Arles, from the name of the capital, a city formerly opulent and embellished by the Romans, but then small and poor like all the other towns of this side of the Alps. In the flourishing times of the republic and in the reigns of the Cæsars, the Romans aggrandized and decorated the towns which they had subdued, but when left to themselves or to the barbarians all of them went to wreck, and by their ruins attested the superiority of the Roman genius.

A barbarian called Solomon soon after made himself king of Brittany, part of which was still pagan, but all these kingdoms fell almost as fast as they were raised.

857 — Louis the Germanic begins by taking Alsace from the new king of Lorraine. He bestows privileges upon Strasburg, already a powerful city, when there was nothing but villages in that part of the world on the other side of the Rhine. The Normans desolate France. Louis the Germanic takes that opportunity to come and overwhelm his brother instead of assisting him against the barbarians. He defeats him near Orleans. The bishops of France in vain excommunicate him: he resolves to make himself master of France. The remainder of the Saxons and other barbarians who invade Germany oblige him to come and defend his own dominions.

858-865 — Louis II., that phantom of an emperor in Italy, takes no share in all these troubles, leaves the popes to strengthen their own power, and dares not reside at Rome.

Charles the Bald of France and Louis the Germanic make peace because they could no longer make war. The most memorable event of that time relates to the amours of Lotharius, king of Lorraine. That prince was willing to imitate Charlemagne, who repudiated his wives and married his concubines. He divorces his wife, called Thietberge, daughter of a Burgundian nobleman. She is accused of adultery and confesses the crime. He marries his mistress, called Valdrade, who had been formerly promised to him as a wife. He procures the convocation of a council at Aix-la-Chapelle, which approves of his divorce from Thietberge. The

decree of that council is confirmed by another at Metz, in presence of the pope's legates. Pope Nicholas I. annuls the councils of Metz and Aix-la-Chapelle and exercises an authority hitherto unknown. He excommunicates and deposes some bishops who espouse the party of the king of Lorraine, and finally that king is compelled to quit the wife whom he loves and to take back the other whom he could not love.

It were doubtless to be wished that there was a sacred tribunal to apprise sovereigns of their duty and make them blush for their violences. But there does not seem to be any reason for a monarch's submitting the secrets of his marriage-bed to the authority of a stranger, and the orientals appear to have always maintained customs more conformable to nature and more favorable for the domestic peace of families, in considering all the fruits of love as legitimate, and in rendering those amours impenetrable to the eyes of the public.

In those times the descendants of Charlemagne were always by the ears together, and their kingdoms were always attacked by the barbarians.

Young Pepin, great grandson of Charlemagne, son of the deposed Pepin, king of Aquitaine, who died without dominions, having for some time led a vagrant and unhappy life, joins the Normans, renounces the Christian religion and finishes his career by being taken and shut up in a convent, where he dies.

866 — It is to this year chiefly that we can fix the schism which still continues between the Greek and Roman churches. Neither Germany nor France intermeddled in the affair. The people were too miserable to mind those disputes, which are so interesting during the leisure of peace.

Charles, king of Arles, dies without issue. The emperor Louis and Lotharius divide his dominions.

It is a destiny fixed to the house of Charlemagne that the children should take arms against their fathers. Louis the Germanic had two sons, Louis, the younger, dissatisfied with his portion, endeavors to dethrone him. His rebellion produces no other consequence than that of his asking pardon.

867-868 — Louis, king of Germany, defeats the Moravians and Bohemians by the hands of his sons. These are not victories which augment a state and help it to flourish. This was nothing but repelling savages to their forests and mountains.

869 — The excommunicated king of Lorraine goes to visit the new pope Adrian at Rome, dines with him, promises to leave off living with his mistress, and dies on his return, at Placentia.

Charles the Bald seizes Lorraine, and even Alsace, in despite of the right of a bastard of Lotharius, to whom his father had given that province. Louis the Germanic had taken Alsace from Lotharius, but it was restored. Charles the Bald took but did not restore it.

870 — Louis of Germany wants to have Lorraine.

Louis of Italy, the emperor, has the same inclination and engages Pope Adrian in his interest. No regard is paid either to the emperor or pope. Louis of Germany and Charles the Bald divide all the dominions comprehended under the name of Lorraine in two equal parts. The western falls to the king of France and the eastern to the king of Germany. Pope Adrian threatens excommunication. They had already begun to make use of these arms, but they were despised. The emperor of Italy was not powerful enough to render them formidable.

871 — This emperor of Italy could scarce get the better of a duke of Beneventum, who being at the same time vassal of the empires of the East and West, would obey neither the one nor the other, and indeed kept the balance equal between them.

The Emperor Louis ventures to go to Beneventum and is put in prison by the duke, the very same adventure that afterwards happened to Louis XI. with the duke of Burgundy.

872-873 — Pope John VIII., who succeeded Adrian II., seeing the precarious situation of the emperor's health, privately promises the imperial crown to Charles the Bald of France, and sells that promise for a good price. This is the same John VIII. who paid such respect to the patriarch Photius, suffering him to be named before himself in a council at Constantinople.

The Moravians, Huns, and Danes continue to

harass Germany, and that vast extent of dominion cannot as yet have the benefit of good laws.

874 — France was not more happy. Charles the Bald had a son called Carloman, whom he had ordered to be shaved in his infancy, and created a deacon against his own inclination. At length he fled for refuge to Metz, in the dominions of his uncle, Louis of Germany, where he levies troops, but being taken, his father orders his eyes to be put out, according to the new fashion.

875 — The emperor Louis II. dies at Milan. His brother, Charles the Bald, king of France, passes the Alps, secures the passes against his brother Louis of Germany, hastens to Rome, lavishes away his money, is proclaimed king of the Romans by the people, and crowned by the pope.

If the Salic law had been in force in the family of Charlemagne, the empire must have belonged to the eldest branch of the house of Louis the Germanic, but a number of troops, expedition, condescension, and a sum of money constituted the right of Charles the Bald, and thereby he debased his own dignity to enjoy it. Pope John VIII. conferred the crown as sovereign. Charles the Bald received it as a vassal, acknowledging that he held everything of the pope, leaving to the successors of that pontiff the power of bestowing the empire, and promising to have always near him a vicar of the holy see to determine all ecclesiastical affairs of consequence. The archbishop of Sens was in that quality, primate

of Gaul and Germany, a title become altogether useless.

Assuredly the popes had reason to believe themselves vested with the right of bestowing the empire, and even of selling it, seeing they found people to ask and to purchase it of their hands, and seeing Charlemagne himself had received the title of emperor from Pope Leo III. But we have likewise reason to say that Leo III., in declaring Charlemagne emperor, had declared him his master, and that prince having taken the rights attached to his dignity it was the privilege of his successors to confirm the popes, not to be elected by them. Time, occasion, custom, prescription, and power are the foundation of all right.

CHARLES THE BALD.

FIFTH EMPEROR.

Charles causes himself to be crowned at Pavia, king of Lombardy, by the bishops, counts, and abbots of that country. "We elect you," it is said in that act, "with unanimous consent, seeing you have been raised to the imperial throne by the intercession of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and their vicar John, sovereign pontiff," etc.

876 — Louis of Germany falls upon France in order to revenge himself upon his brother for having prevented him from buying the empire, but death overtook him in the execution of his vengeance.

The custom — which leads men by the nose — at that time, was for princes to weaken their dominions in sharing them among their children. Accordingly Louis the Germanic divided his dominions among his three sons. To Carloman he gave Bavaria, Carinthia, and Pannonia; to Louis, Friesland, Saxony, Thuringia, and Franconia; and Charles the Gross, or the Fat, afterwards emperor, had the half of Lorraine, with Suabia and the neighboring countries, at that time called Germany.

877 — This division renders the emperor Charles the Bald more powerful, and he is resolved to seize that half of Lorraine which is not in his possession. Here follows an example of the excessive superstition at that time joined to rapaciousness and deceit. Louis of Germany sends thirty men to the camp of Charles the Bald, to prove, in the name of God, that his part of Lorraine of right belongs to him. Ten of these thirty confessors take up ten rings and ten flints out of a caldron of boiling water without being scalded. The same number carry each a red hot iron the space of nine feet without being burned and the last ten, being tied with cords, are thrown into cold water, and sink to the bottom — a sure proof of a righteous cause, for water expels those who are perjured, to the surface.

History is so full of those proofs that we can hardly deny the whole as apocryphal. Custom, which made them common, rendered also those arts common which make the skin for some time insensi-

ble to the action of fire, such as oil of vitriol, and other corrosives. With regard to the miracle of going to the bottom of the water into which they were thrown, it would have been a greater miracle had they floated on the surface.

Louis would not confine himself to this ceremony. He engaged near Cologne with the emperor his uncle, who being defeated, retired to Italy, whither he was pursued by the conqueror.

Rome was then threatened by the Mussulmans, who were still cantoned in Calabria. Carloman, the king of Bavaria, leagued with his brother of Lorraine, pursues his uncle, the Bald, into Italy, who finds himself at one time hard beset by his nephew, by the Mahometans, and the intrigues of the pope, and dies in October, at a village near Mount Cenis.

Historians say he was poisoned by his physician, a Jew, whose name was Sedecias. Certain it is the Christian part of Europe was then so ignorant that kings were obliged to employ Jews or Arabians for their physicians.

It is in the reign of Charles the Bald that the great feudal government began, and all things went to decay. It was under him that many possessors of great military offices, duchies, marquisates, and countships attempted to make these honors hereditary.

LOUIS III., THE STAMMERER.

SIXTH EMPEROR.

878 — Pope John VIII., who thinks he has a right to nominate an emperor, can scarcely support himself in Rome. He promises the empire to Louis the Stammerer, king of France, son of the Bald. He promises it to Carloman of Bavaria, and engages himself to one Lambert, duke of Spoleto, a vassal of the empire.

This Lambert of Spoleto, finding himself deceived by the pope, joins a marquis of Tuscany, enters Rome, seizes his holiness, but is afterwards obliged to release him. One Boson, duke of Arles, likewise pretends to the empire.

The Mahometans were nearer the conquest of Rome than all their competitors. The pope agrees to pay them an annual tribute of twenty thousand marks of silver. Anarchy prevails in Germany, France, and Italy.

Louis the Stammerer dies at Compiègne on April 10th. He is put in the list of emperors only because he was son of a prince who swayed the imperial sceptre.

CHARLES III., THE GROSS.

SEVENTH EMPEROR.

879 — The business was to make an emperor and a king of France. Louis the Stammerer left two children of fourteen and fifteen years of age. It was not then a decided point whether or not an infant or minor could be king. Several new noblemen of France offered the crown to Louis of Germany. He took no more than the western part of Lorraine, which had been the share of Charles the Bald. Louis and Carloman, the two sons of the Stammerer, are acknowledged kings of France, although they are not unanimously acknowledged as legitimate children, but Boson caused himself to be consecrated king of Arles, augments his territory, and claims the empire. Charles the Gross, king of the country still called Germany, presses the pope to crown him emperor. The pope answers that he will bestow the imperial crown upon him who shall first come to his assistance against the Christians and Mahometans.

880 — Charles the Gross, king of Germany, Louis, king of Bavaria and Lorraine, unite with the kings of France against Boson, the new king of Arles, and make war upon him. They besiege Vienne in Dauphiny, but Charles the Gross marches from Vienne to Rome.

881 — Charles is crowned and consecrated em-

peror by Pope John VIII. in the church of St. Peter, on Christmas day.

882 — His brother Louis, king of Bavaria, Pannonia, what was called Eastern France, and the two Lorraines, dies on January 20, in that same year, without issue. The emperor, Charles the Gross, was natural heir of his dominions, but the Normans presented themselves in order to share in them. These frequent troubles of the North rendered the imperial power problematic in Rome, where ancient liberty still thrust out new roots. It was not known who should reign in that ancient capital of Europe — whether it should be the people, the bishop, or an emperor who was a stranger.

The pope sends him a branch of palm, according to custom, but it was the only palm he obtained.

The Normans penetrate as far as Metz; they go and burn Aix-la-Chapelle, and destroy all the works of Charlemagne. Charles the Gross can find no other way of being delivered from them than that of seizing all the plate belonging to the churches and giving them 4,160 marks of silver, with which they went away to fit out new armaments.

883 — The empire had become so weak that Pope Martin II., who succeeded John VIII., begins with making a solemn decree, by which they were no longer to wait for the emperor's orders in electing popes. The emperor in vain complains of this decree. He had abundance of other affairs upon his hands.

A certain duke called Zuentibold laid waste Germany, at the head of the Moravian pagans. The emperor made peace with him as with the Normans. It is not known whether or not he had money to give him, but he acknowledged him as prince and vassal of the empire.

884 — A great part of Italy is still laid waste by the Duke of Spoleto and the Saracens, which last plunder the rich abbey of Monte Cassino, and carry off all its treasure, but a duke of Beneventum had been beforehand with them.

Charles the Gross marches into Italy to put a stop to these disorders. But scarcely has he arrived when, hearing of the death of his two nephews, the young kings of France, he repasses the Alps in order to claim the succession.

885 — Behold then Charles the Gross, who reunites upon his head all the crowns of Charlemagne, which however, he was not strong enough to bear.

A bastard of Lotharius, called Hugues, abbot of St. Denis, had for a long time laid a scheme for having Lorraine as his patrimony. He engages in a league with a Norman to whom Friesland had been ceded, and who marries his sister, and he calls other Normans to his assistance.

The emperor stifled this conspiracy. A count of Saxony, called Henry, and an archbishop of Cologne undertake to assassinate this Norman duke of Friesland in a conference. The abbot Hugues is appre-

hended in Lorraine on the same pretext, and the custom of putting out eyes is revived upon him.

He had better engaged the Normans with good armies. These, finding themselves attacked by perfidy alone, penetrate from Holland into Flanders, pass the Somme and the Oise without resistance, take and burn Pontoise, and arrive at Paris by land and water. That city, which is now so immense, was then neither large, strong, nor populous. The tower of the great châtelet was not yet entirely built when the Normans appeared. They were obliged to finish it hastily with wood; so that the lower part was of stone and the upper of carpenter's work.

The Parisians, who expected at that time an irruption of the Barbarians, did not abandon the city as heretofore. Odo, or Eudes, count of Paris, whose valor afterwards raised him to the throne of France, put the town in such order as animated the courage of the inhabitants, and served them instead of towers and ramparts. Sigefroi, chief of the Normans, carried on the siege with obstinate fury, though not destitute of art. The Normans used the ram to batter the walls, effected a breach, and gave three assaults, which the Parisians sustained with unshaken courage. They had at their head not only Count Eudes, but also their bishop, Goslin, who every day, after having bestowed his benediction posted himself at the breach with a helmet on his head, a quiver at his back, and a battle-axe at his belt, and fought in sight of the cross, which he

planted on the rampart. This bishop seems to have had at least as much authority in the city as Count Eudes, seeing it was to him that Sigefroi, chief of the Normans, first addressed himself for permission to enter Paris. This prelate died of fatigue in the middle of the siege, leaving his memory respected and regretted, for, though he armed those hands which his religion reserved solely for the ministry of the altar, he armed them in defence of that very altar, and of his countrymen, in the justest of all causes, namely, necessary self-preservation, which is always above the laws.

His brethren were armed only in civil wars, and against Christians. Perhaps, if canonization is due to some men, it would have been better to raise that prelate to heaven, who fought and died for his country, than a great many obscure men, whose virtue, if they had any, was useless to the world.

886 — The Normans kept Paris besieged a whole year and a half. The Parisians experienced all the horrors attending famine and contagion in a long siege, and still were unshaken. At the end of that period, the emperor Charles the Gross, king of France, came at length to their relief, and appeared on the mount of Mars, now called Montmartre, but he dared not attack the Normans. He came only to buy another shameful truce. Those barbarians quit Paris to go and besiege Sens, and plunder Burgundy, while Charles goes to Germany to assemble

those diets which deprived him of a throne of which he was so unworthy.

The Normans continue their devastations, but, although enemies of the Christian name, it never came into their minds to force any person whatever to renounce Christianity. They resembled the Franks, the Goths, the Alani, the Huns, the Heruli, who, in the fourth century, being in quest of new settlements, far from imposing their religion upon the conquered Romans, adopted with great ease the religion of the vanquished. Thus the Turks, while they plundered the empire of the caliphs, submitted themselves to the Mahometan religion.

887 — There was nothing wanting to Charles the Gross, but to be unhappy in his family. Contemned in the empire, he was said to be likewise despised by his empress, Richarda. She was accused of infidelity, and he repudiated her, although she offered to justify herself by the judgment of God. He sent her to the abbey of Andelau, which she herself had founded, in Alsace.

Charles was afterwards prevailed upon — contrary to the custom of the times — to adopt the son of his enemy, Boson, that king of Arles. By that time his brain is said to have been affected, and certainly it was, seeing that, although he possessed as many dominions as Charlemagne, he brought himself to such a pass as to lose all without making any resistance. He is dethroned in a diet near Mentz.

888 — The deposition of Charles the Gross is a spectacle which merits great attention. Was he deposed by those who had elected him? Could a few Thuringian, Saxon, and Bavarian noblemen, assembled in a village called Tribur, dispose of the Roman Empire and the kingdom of France? No, surely, but they could renounce their allegiance to a prince, to a chief, who did not deserve to reign. They therefore abandon the grandson of Charlemagne for a bastard of Carloman, son of Louis the Germanic. This bastard, called Arnold, they declare king of Germany. Charles the Gross dies destitute near Constance, January 8, 888.

The fate of Italy, France, and so many other states was then uncertain.

The right of succession was everywhere little regarded. Charles the Gross himself had been crowned king of France, to the prejudice of a posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer, and in contempt of the rights of that same son, the French noblemen chose for their king Eudes, count of Paris.

One Rudolph, son of another count of Paris, makes himself king of Transjurane Burgundy.

This son of Boson, king of Arles, adopted by Charles the Gross, becomes king of Arles by the intrigues of his mother.

The empire was now no more than a phantom; nevertheless, they were desirous of seizing that phantom, which the name of Charlemagne still rendered venerable. This pretended empire, which

took the appellation of Roman, ought to have been bestowed at Rome. One Guy, duke of Spoleto, and Berengarius, duke of Friuli, disputed the name and rank of the Cæsars. Guy of Spoleto caused him to be crowned at Rome. Berengarius assumes the vain title of King of Italy, and by a singularity worthy of the confusion of those times, comes to Langres, in order to be crowned king of Italy, in Champagne.

It was in the midst of these troubles that all the noblemen cantoned themselves. Every man fortified his own castle; great part of the towns are altogether without government; troops of banditti scour the country from one end of Europe to the other, and chivalry is established to restrain these robbers and to defend ladies, or carry them off.

889 — Several bishops of France, and the archbishop of Rheims in particular, offer the kingdom of France to the bastard Arnold, because he was descended from Charlemagne, and they hated Eudes, who had none of that blood, except by the female side.

Eudes, king of France, goes to wait upon Arnold at Worms, cedes to him part of Lorraine, which was already in Arnold's possession, promises to acknowledge him as emperor, and puts into his hands the crown and sceptre of France, which he had brought with him for that purpose. Arnold restores them, and acknowledges him king of France. This submission proves that the kings still considered themselves as vassals of the Roman Empire. It likewise

proves how much Eudes was afraid of the party which Arnold had in France.

890-891 — The reign of Arnold in Germany is marked by unlucky events. The remains of the Saxons, intermingled with Slavs called Abodrites, inhabiting the districts towards the Baltic, between the Elbe and the Oder, ravage the north of Germany; the Bohemians, the Moravians, and other bodies of the Slavs, desolate the South, and defeat the troops of Arnold; the Huns make incursions; the Normans renew their ravages; yet no conquest is established by so many invasions. These, though transient devastations, leave Germany in a very poor and miserable condition.

At length, he in person defeats the Normans near Louvain, and Germany breathes freely. The decay of Charlemagne's empire emboldens the feeble empire of the East. A patrician of Constantinople retakes the duchy of Beneventum with some troops, and threatens Rome, but as the Greeks were obliged to defend themselves against the Saracens, the conqueror of Beneventum could not march to the ancient capital of the empire.

We have seen what reason Eudes, king of France, had to lay his crown at the feet of Arnold. It was his business to be well with all the world. The noblemen and bishops of France restore the crown to Charles the Simple, posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer, whom they invite from England, whither he had fled for refuge.

893 — As in these divisions King Eudes had implored the protection of Arnold, Charles the Simple comes to implore it in his turn at the Diet of Worms. Arnold takes no step in his favor, but leaves him to dispute the kingdom of France, and marches into Italy, there to dispute the name of emperor with Guy of Spoleto, Lombardy with Berengarius, and Rome with the pope.

894 — He besieges Pavia, in which was that emperor of Spoleto, who betakes himself to flight. He secures Lombardy. Berengarius conceals himself, but even at that time we see how difficult it was for the emperors to make themselves masters of Rome. Arnold, instead of marching to that capital, goes and holds a council at Mentz.

895 — Arnold, after this council, which was held with a view to conciliate the bishops, holds a diet at Worms, in order to procure fresh troops and money, and that his son Zuentibold might be crowned king of Lombardy.

896 — He returns towards Rome. The Romans no longer desire an emperor, but they are incapable of defending themselves. Arnold attacks that part of the city called Leonini — from the name of that famous pontiff, Leo IV., who had surrounded it with walls — and forces the place. The rest of the city, on the other side of the Tiber, surrenders, and Pope Formosa consecrates Arnold emperor in the church of St. Peter. The senators — for there was still a senate — next day take the oath

of allegiance to him in the church of St. Paul. It was the old equivocal oath: "I swear I will be faithful to the emperor, saving my fidelity to the pope."

ARNOLD.

EIGHTH EMPEROR.

896 — A woman of great courage, called Agiltrude, mother of that pretended emperor, Guy of Spoleto, who had in vain armed Rome against Arnold, defends herself still against him. He besieges her in the city of Ferno. Authors pretend that this heroine sent him a poisoned beverage, in order to soften his disposition, and that he was weak enough to drink it. It is incontestable that he raised the siege; that he was sick; that he repassed the Alps with the wreck of his army; that he left Italy in greater confusion than ever; and that he returned to Germany, where he had lost all his authority in his absence.

897-899 — Germany was then in the same anarchy as France: the noblemen had fortified themselves in Lorraine, Alsace, the country now called Saxony, Bavaria, and Franconia: the bishop and abbots seize the rights of regality: they maintain protectors or captains, who swear fealty to them, and have lands for their service, and these sometimes protect and sometimes plunder them. They were formerly the advocates of the monasteries;

and when the convents became principalities, the protectors became noblemen.

The bishops and abbots of Italy were never on the same footing: first, because the Italian noblemen had more address, the cities were more powerful, and richer than the hamlets of Germany and France; and, lastly, because the Church of Rome, though very ill conducted, would not suffer the other churches of Italy to be powerful.

Chivalry and the spirit of chivalry spreads over all the West. There is hardly any suit decided but by champions: the priests bless their arms; and they are always obliged to swear, before they engage, that their arms are not enchanted, and that they have not made any compact with the devil.

Arnold, the emperor, destitute of power, dies in Bavaria in the year 899. Some authors make him die of poison, others of lousiness; but lousiness is a chimera, and so is often the notion of poison.

900 — Confusion increases. Berengarius reigns in Lombardy, though in the midst of factions. That son of Boson made king of Arles by the intrigues of his mother, is by the same intrigues acknowledged emperor at Rome. Women then disposed of everything: they made emperors and popes, who, however, had nothing but the name.

Louis IV. is acknowledged king of Germany: to this he joins Lorraine after the death of his brother Zuentibold, and is very little stronger for the acquisition.

901-907 — The Huns and Hungarians reunited, come and ravage Bavaria, Suabia, and Franconia, where one would think there was very little more to be got.

One Moimir, who had made himself duke of Moravia and a Christian, goes to Rome to demand bishops.

One Adelbert, marquis of Tuscany, famous for his wife Theodora, is despotic in Rome. Berengarius strengthens himself in Lombardy; makes an alliance with the Huns, in order to hinder the new king of Germany from coming to Italy; makes war on the pretended emperor of Arles; takes him prisoner; puts out his eyes; enters Rome, and compels Pope John IX. to crown him emperor. The pope, after having consecrated him, flies to Ravenna, and consecrates another emperor, called Lambert, son of the vagrant and needy duke of Spoleto, who assumes the title of Invincible and always August.

908-912 — Meanwhile Louis IV., king of Germany, takes also the title of emperor: several authors give him the title; but Sigebert says, on account of the evils which in his time harassed Italy, he did not deserve the imperial benediction; the true reason is, that he was not powerful enough to cause himself to be acknowledged emperor: he had no share in the troubles which harassed Italy in his time.

LOUIS IV.

NINTH EMPEROR.

In the reign of this strange emperor, Germany undergoes the most dismal desolation. The Huns, hired by Berengarius to come and ravage Germany, are afterwards hired by Louis IV. to return to their own country. Two factions arise, headed by the dukes of Saxony and Franconia, and do more mischief than the Huns. All the churches are plundered: the Hungarians return to have a share of the pillage. The emperor Louis flies to Ratisbon, where he dies in the twentieth year of his age. Thus ended the race of Charlemagne in Germany.

CONRAD I.

TENTH EMPEROR.

912 — The German nobles assemble at Worms to elect a king. These were such as being the most interested in the choice of a prince, according to their mind, had power and credit enough to raise themselves to the rank of electors. The right of inheritance was, during this century, hardly acknowledged in Europe. Election, either free or influenced, prevailed almost everywhere; witness those of Arnold in Germany, of Guy of Spoleto, of Berengarius in Italy, of Don Sancho in Aragon, of Eudes, Robert, Raoul, Hugh Capet in France,

and of the emperors of Constantinople; for so many vassals and so many princes were desirous of having the right to choose a chief, and the hope of being chosen.

It is pretended that Otho, duke of the new Saxony, was chosen by the Diet, but that finding himself too old, he himself proposed Conrad, duke of Franconia, though he was his own enemy, because he thought him worthy of the throne. This action is not at all in the spirit of those almost savage times. We find ambition, deceit, and courage in this as in all ages; but to begin even from Clovis, we find not one action of magnanimity.

Conrad was never acknowledged emperor either in Italy or France. The Germans, only accustomed to see emperors in their kings since Charlemagne, gave him, it is said, that title.

913-919 — The reign of Conrad makes no alteration in the state of Germany. He has wars with his vassals, and particularly with the son of that duke of Saxony to whom he is said to have owed the crown.

The Hungarians still make war on Germany, and Conrad is wholly engrossed in repulsing them. During this period the French make themselves masters of Lorraine. If Charles had made that conquest, he would not have deserved the name of Simple; but he had ministers and generals of another stamp. He creates a duke of Lorraine.

The bishops of Germany confirm themselves in

the possession of their fiefs. Conrad dies in the year 919 in the little town of Weilburg. It is pretended that before his death he named Henry, duke of Saxony, for his successor, to the prejudice of his own brother. It is not very likely that he should think he had a right to choose a successor, or that he would have chosen his own enemy.

The name of this pretended emperor was not known in Italy, during his reign. Lombardy became a prey to divisions, Rome to the most horrible scandal, and Naples and Sicily to the devastations of the Saracens.

It was at this time that the prostitute Theodora at Rome raised to the papal chair John X., who was as great a prostitute as herself.

HENRY THE FOWLER.

ELEVENTH EMPEROR.

920 — It may be of consequence to observe, that in this time of anarchy, several hamlets of Germany began to enjoy the rights of natural liberty, after the example of the Italian cities. Some purchased these rights of their lords, others had supported them sword in hand. The deputies of these towns concur with the bishops and noblemen, in order to choose an emperor, and are in the rank of electors. Thus Henry I., surnamed the Fowler, duke of Saxony, is elected by the three estates. Nothing

is more natural than that all those who are concerned in being well governed should concur in establishing the government.

921-930 — One of the rights belonging to the kings of Germany, as well as to the kings of France, was always to fill the vacant bishoprics.

The emperor Henry has a short war with the duke of Bavaria, and puts an end to it by ceding to him the right of appointing bishops in his own dukedom.

These years produce very few events in which the fate of Germany is interested. The most important is the affair of Lorraine. It had been still undecided whether it should belong to Germany or France.

Henry the Fowler subdues Upper and Lower Lorraine in the year 925, and wrests it from the hands of Duke Gisilbert, to whom it had been given by the kings of France. He afterwards restores it to that duke, that it might depend upon Germany. This Lorraine was no other than a dismembered part of the kingdom of Lotharingia. It was Brabant, part of the country of Liège, afterwards disputed by the bishop of Liège, with the lands between Metz and Franche-Comté, disputed also by the bishop of Metz. This country in the sequel returned to France, from which it was afterwards separated again.

Henry enacts laws which are more interesting than the events and revolutions with which history is loaded. He extricates what could be extricated

from the feudal anarchy. Vassals and under-vassals consent to furnish soldiers and corn for their subsistence. He changes into cities the depopulated towns, which the Huns, Bohemians, Moravians, and Normans had laid waste. He builds Brandenburg, Meissen, and Schleswig, where he settles marquises to guard the marches of Germany. He re-establishes the ruined abbeys of Herford and Corbie; and plans several cities, such as Gotha, Herford, and Goslar.

The ancient Saxons, Slavs, Abodrites, and their neighbors, the Vandals, are repulsed. His predecessor, Conrad, had consented to pay a tribute to the Hungarians, and hitherto it was paid by Henry the Fowler, who, in a little time, freed Germany from that disgrace.

930-936 — It is said, that when the Hungarian deputies came to demand their tribute, Henry gave them a mangy dog. It was a punishment inflicted upon German knights, when they had committed crimes, to carry a dog for a league. This coarse custom, worthy of those times, does not at all detract from the greatness of their courage; true it is, the Hungarians come and do more mischief than the tribute would have cost; but at length they are repulsed and defeated.

Then he causes the towns to be fortified, as a check upon the barbarians; and leaves the ninth man in some provinces with which these towns are garrisoned. He exercises the nobility in jousts and a kind of tournaments: in one of these nearly a

thousand gentlemen are said to have entered the lists.

These tournaments had been invented in Italy, by the Lombard kings, and were called *"Batagliole."*

Having provided for the defence of Germany, he resolves at length to go to Italy, after the example of his predecessors, in order to receive the imperial crown.

The troubles and scandalous practices of Rome were increased. Marosia, daughter of Theodora, had raised to St. Peter's chair the young John XI., produced by her adultery with Pope Sergius III., and governed the Church in the name of her son. Of all the tyrants that overwhelmed Italy the Germans were most hated by Rome.

Henry the Fowler, relying upon his forces, thought to have taken advantage of those troubles; but he died upon the road, in Thuringia, in the year 936. The only reason for calling him emperor, is because he was desirous of receiving the imperial throne, and it was the custom to give him that appellation.

OTHO I., SURNAMED THE GREAT.

TWELFTH EMPEROR.

936 — At length we come to a true emperor. The dukes, counts, bishops, abbots, and all the powerful noblemen assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, elect Otho, son of Henry the Fowler. It is not mentioned that the deputies of the towns gave their votes. Perhaps

the great noblemen having gained an acquisition of power, under Henry the Fowler, had deprived the towns of this right.

The archbishop of Mentz signifies this election to the people, consecrates the new emperor, and sets the crown upon his head. It may be observed that the prelates dine at the emperor's table; and that the dukes of Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria, and Lorraine, serve at table; the duke of Franconia, for example, in quality of steward, and the duke of Suabia, as cup-bearer. This ceremony was performed in a wooden gallery, in the midst of the ruins of Aix-la-Chapelle, which had been burned by the Huns, and was not yet rebuilt.

The Huns and Hungarians come again to interrupt the festival. They advance to Westphalia, but are repulsed.

937 — Bohemia was then entirely barbarous, and but one half Christian. Luckily for Otho, it is embroiled in civil wars, of which he takes the advantage as soon as possible. He renders Bohemia tributary to Germany, and there establishes Christianity.

938-940 — Otho endeavors to make himself despotic, and the noblemen of the great fiefs to render themselves independent. This great quarrel, sometimes open, sometimes concealed, still exists in the minds of men, after a series of eight hundred years, as well as the quarrel between Rome and the empire.

This struggle between royal power, which always seeks increase, and liberty, which will not yield, has for a long time agitated all the Christian part of Europe. It existed in Spain as long as the Christians had to fight with the Moors, after which the sovereign authority got uppermost. It was this that involved France in troubles, to the middle of the reign of Louis XI.; that has at length established in England the mixed government to which she owes her greatness; and that has cemented in Poland the liberty of the nobles and the slavery of the people. The same spirit has troubled Sweden and Denmark, and founded the republics of Switzerland and Holland: and the same cause has everywhere produced different effects.

The duke of Bavaria refusing to do homage, Otho enters that country with an army, and reduces the duke to some allodial territories. He creates one of the duke's brothers count palatine in Bavaria, and another count palatine towards the Rhine. This dignity of count palatine is revived from the counts of the palace of the Roman emperors, and of the Franks.

He bestows the same dignity upon a duke of Franconia. These palatines are at first supreme judges. They judge in the last appeal in the name of the emperor. This supreme resource of justice is, next to an army, the greatest support of sovereignty.

Otho disposes at pleasure of dignities and lands. The first marquis of Brandenburg dying without

issue, he gives the marquisate to one Count Gerard, who was not related to the deceased one.

The more Otho affects absolute power, the more he is opposed by the noblemen of the great fiefs: and from that very time begins the custom of having recourse to France to support the feudal government in Germany against the authority of the German kings.

The dukes of Franconia and Lorraine and the prince of Brunswick address themselves to Louis d'Outremer, king of France, who enters Lorraine and Alsace and joins the allies.

Otho anticipates the French king; and upon the Rhine near Brisach defeats the dukes of Franconia and Lorraine, who are slain in battle.

He deprives the house of Franconia of the title of palatine: settles it upon the house of Bavaria, and annexes to it lands and castles. Thus was formed the present palatinate of the Rhine.

941 — As the German noblemen of the great fiefs had called the king of France to their assistance, the noblemen of France, in like manner, solicit the assistance of Otho. He pursues Louis d'Outremer through the whole country of Champagne; but is recalled into Germany by conspiracies.

942-944 — The despotism of Otho alienates the minds of men to such a degree that his own brother, Henry, duke of one part of Lorraine, had united with several noblemen to deprive him of his throne and life. He returns therefore to Germany, stifles

the conspiracy, and pardons his brother, who was in all probability powerful enough to be entitled to that favor.

He augments the privileges of bishops and abbots, in order to oppose them to the noblemen. He bestows the title of prince, with all the rights of regality, upon the bishop of Trier. He gives the duchy of Bavaria to his brother Henry, who had conspired against him, and leaves the natural heirs quite destitute. This is the greatest proof of his absolute power.

945-946 — At that time the race of Charlemagne, which still reigned in France, was reduced to the lowest state of degradation. They had in 912 ceded Neustria, properly so-called, to the Normans, and even Brittany, which then became an under-fief of France.

Hugues, duke of the Isle of France, of the blood of Charlemagne by the female line, father of Hugh Capet, son-in-law by his first marriage to Edward I., king of England, and brother-in-law of Otho by his second marriage, was one of the most powerful noblemen in Europe, and the king of France at that time one of the most inconsiderable. This Hugh had recalled Louis d'Outremer to crown and serve him, and was called Hugues, or Hugh the Great, because he had made himself powerful at the expense of his master.

He was allied with the Normans, who had made the unfortunate d'Outremer prisoner. That king,

released from captivity, was left almost without towns or territory. He was likewise brother-in-law of Otho, whose sister he had married. He demands his protection, in consequence of ceding all his rights over Lorraine.

Otho marches to the neighborhood of Paris, besieges Rouen, but, being abandoned by the count of Flanders, returns to his own dominions after a fruitless expedition.

947-948 — Otho, being unable to conquer Hugh the Great, causes him to be excommunicated. He convokes a council at Trier, where the pope's legate pronounces the sentence at the desire of Otho's chief almoner. Nevertheless Hugh continues master in France.

There was, we have seen, a margrave at Schleswig, in the Cimbric Chersonesus, to check the incursions of the Danes. They kill this margrave. Otho hastens thither in person, retakes the town, secures the frontiers, and makes peace with Denmark on condition that Christianity should be preached in that country.

949 — Thence Otho goes to hold a council at Ingelheim, near Mentz. Louis d'Outremer, who had no army, demanded this council of Pope Agapetus; a poor resource against Hugh the Great.

There the German bishops and Marini, the pope's legate, appear as judges, Otho as protector, and Louis of France as a suppliant. Louis demands justice, and says: "I have been acknowledged king

by the suffrage of all the noblemen. If it is pretended that I have committed some crime which merits the treatment I suffer, I am ready to take my trial before the council, according to Otho's order, or I will maintain my innocence in single combat."

This miserable address proves the custom of duels, the deplorable condition of the king of France, the power of Otho, and the election of kings. The right of blood seemed then no more than a recommendation to obtain votes. Hugh the Great is summoned to this vain council, although nobody supposed he would appear.

950 — Otho gives the investiture of Suabia, Augsburg, Constance, and Würtemberg, to his son Ludolphus, "saving the rights of the bishops."

951 — Otho returns to Bohemia; defeats the Duke Bol, who is called Bolestaus. The word "*Slas*" among these people signified chief. Hence they were at first called Slavs, which name in the sequel fell to those whom they had conquered. The emperor confirms the vassalage of Bohemia, and there establishes the Christian religion. All beyond was still pagan, except some marches of Germany. From that time he resolved to renew the empire of Charlemagne, and a woman paved the way.

Adelaide, sister of a petty king of Transjurane Burgundy, widow of the king or usurper of the kingdom of Italy, being oppressed by another usurper, Berengarius II., who besieges her in Canossa, calls Otho to her aid. Thither he marches,

delivers, and being then a widower, marries this princess. He enters Pavia in triumph with Adelaide; but it required both time and diligence to subdue the rest of the kingdom, and especially Rome, which would by no means submit to him.

952 — He leaves his army to a prince called Conrad, his own son-in-law, whom he had made duke of Lorraine, and, what was very common in those times, goes to hold a council at Augsburg instead of pursuing his conquests. There were Italian bishops at that council. Perhaps he had no other view in this but to dispose people to receive him in Italy.

953 — His marriage with Adelaide, which ought to have secured him in the possession of Italy, was like to have made him lose it in a very little time.

His son Ludolphus, to whom he had given so many dominions, but who was afraid that his mother-in-law would give him a master, and his son-in-law, Conrad, to whom he had given Lorraine, but from whom he had taken the command in Italy, conspire against him, and archbishop of Mentz and a bishop of Augsburg join these confederates; he marches against his son, and, instead of making himself emperor at Rome, is obliged to maintain a civil war in Germany.

954 — His unnatural son calls the Hungarians to his assistance, and it costs him abundance of trouble to repel them from the banks of the Rhine and the

neighborhood of Cologne, whither they had advanced.

Otho had a brother called Bruno, an ecclesiastic, whom he procures to be elected archbishop of Cologne, and to whom he gives Lorraine.

955 — The arms of Otho prevail. His sons and their adherents ask pardon. The archbishop of Mentz returns to his duty. The king's son deviates from it again. At length he comes barefoot and throws himself at his father's feet. The Hungarians whom he called in, far from following his example in asking forgiveness, lay waste the country. Otho gives them battle and defeats them at Augsburg. He seems to have been strong enough to defeat, but not to pursue and destroy them, although his army was composed of legions formed after the model of the ancient Roman legions.

The fears of the son of Otho are realized. Adelaide is delivered of a prince, who is Otho II.

956-960 — The designs upon Rome ripen, but the affairs of Germany prevent their being disclosed. The Slavs and other barbarians deluge the north of Germany, as yet but very ill secured in spite of all the cares of Otho. Inconsiderable wars towards Luxemburg and Hainault, which belonged to Lower Lorraine, continue still to employ his arms.

Ludolphus, that son of Otho who was sent into Italy against Berengarius, dies in that country, either of the plague or of poison.

Berengarius was then absolute master of the

ancient kingdom of Lombardy, though not at Rome. But he necessarily had a thousand quarrels with her, like the ancient Lombard kings.

A son of Marosia, called Octavian Sporco, was elected pope at the age of eighteen, by the credit of his family. He takes the name of John XII., in memory of his uncle, John XI. This is the first pope who changed his name at his accession to the pontificate. He was not even in orders when his family made him pontiff. He was a young man who lived like a prince and was a lover of arms and pleasure.

It is surprising that, under so many scandalous popes, the Roman church lost neither her prerogatives nor pretensions; but at that time almost all the other churches were governed in this manner. The bishops having always something to ask of Rome, either orders or favors, did not abandon their interest for a few scandalous practices more than usual, and it was their interest to be always united to the Roman church, because that union made them more respected by the people, and more considerable in the eyes of the sovereigns. The clergy of Italy might then despise the popes, but they revered the papacy the more, as they aspired to that exalted station. Finally, in the opinion of mankind, the place was sacred even when the person was damnable.

The Italians at length call Otho to their assistance. They wanted, says Luitprand, a contemporary writer, to have two masters, that they might

not have one in reality. This is one of the principal causes of the long miseries of Italy.

960 — Otho, before he sets out for Italy, takes care to have his son Otho, born of Adelaide, though but in the seventh year of his age, elected king of Germany — a new proof that the right of succession did not exist. He takes the precaution of causing him to be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbishops of Cologne, Mentz, and Trier, assembled for that purpose. The archbishop of Cologne performs the function first. This was Bruno, the brother of Otho.

961 — He passes the Alps of the Tyrol; once more enters Pavia, which always falls to the first occupier, and receives the crown of Lombardy at Monza.

962 — While Berengarius flies with his family, Otho marches to Rome, and the gates are opened to him. John XII. crowns him emperor. He confirms the donations of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis the Weak. He takes the pope's oath of allegiance on the body of St. Peter and ordains that there shall be commissaries of the emperor at Rome.

This instrument, written in letters of gold, subscribed by seven bishops of Germany, five counts, two abbots, and several Italian prelates, is still kept in the castle of St. Angelo. The date is February 13, 962. Lotharius, king of France, and Hugh Capet, afterwards king, are said to have been present at this coronation. These kings of France were

indeed so weak that they might have served as ornaments at the consecration of an emperor, but the names of Lotharius and Hugh Capet are not found in the signatures of this act.

All that was then done at Rome concerning the churches of Germany was to erect Magdeburg into an archbishop's fee, and Merseburg into a bishopric for the conversion of the Slavs, that is, the people who inhabited Moravia, part of Brandenburg, Silesia, etc.

Scarce had the pope given himself a master when he repented of what he had done. He leagues with that famed Berengarius, who had fled for refuge among the Mahometans cantoned upon the coast of Provence, and solicits the Hungarians to enter Germany. This was the step he should have taken before.

963 — The Emperor Otho, having finished the conquest of Lombardy, returns to Rome. He assembles a council. Pope John XII. hides himself. He is accused in full council in the church of St. Peter of having committed fornication with several women, particularly with one called Etienetta, his father's concubine; of having conferred the bishopric of Lodi upon a child of ten years; of having sold ordinations and benefices; of having put out the eyes of his godfather; of having first castrated and then put to death a cardinal, and lastly of not believing in Jesus Christ and of having invoked the devil; two articles that seem to contradict one another.

This young pontiff, who was then but seven and twenty, was said to be deposed for his incests and scandalous practices; but the true reason was his having endeavored, like all the Romans, to destroy the German power in Rome.

A new pope, called Leo VIII., is elected in his room. Otho was not able to secure the person of John XII., or, if he was, he committed a great error.

964 — The new pope, Leo VIII., if we may believe the discourse of Arnold, bishop of Orleans, was neither an ecclesiastic, nor even a Christian.

John XII., a debauched pope, but an enterprising prince, excites an insurrection of the Romans from the recesses of his retreat, and while Otho goes to besiege Camerino the pontiff, assisted by his mistress, re-enters Rome. He deposes his competitor, orders the right hand of Cardinal John to be cut off because it had written the deposition against him, opposes council to council, and enacts a statute importing that "an inferior shall never have power to deprive his superior of his rank;" or, in other words, that no emperor shall ever have power to depose a pope. He flatters himself with the hope of driving the Germans from Italy; but, in the midst of his great design, he is assassinated in the embraces of one of his mistresses.

He had animated the Romans and raised their courage to such a pitch that even after his death they ventured to support a siege, and did not surrender to Otho until reduced to the last extremity.

Otho, twice conqueror of Rome, orders it to be declared in council that "after the example of the blessed Adrian, who gave to Charlemagne the right of electing popes and investing all bishops, the same rights were given to the Emperor Otho." This title, still extant in Gratian's collection, is suspected, but that which is not suspected is the great care the victorious emperor took to secure himself in the possession of all his rights.

After so many oaths, the emperors ought to have resided at Rome to enforce the observation of them.

965 — He returns to Germany. He finds all Lorraine in rebellion against his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who at that time governed in Lorraine. He is obliged to abandon Trier, Metz, Toul, and Verdun to their respective bishops. Upper Lorraine falls into the hands of the count of Bar, and this country alone is what we now call Lorraine. Bruno reserves no more than the provinces of the Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheldt. This Bruno was a learned man, as much detached from grandeur as his brother, Otho, the emperor, was ambitious.

The house of Luxemburg takes that name from the castle of Luxemburg, which they receive in exchange from an abbot of St. Maximin in Trier.

The Poles begin to embrace Christianity.

966 — Scarce was the Emperor Otho returned to Germany when the Romans resolved to be free.

They expel Pope John XIII., who was attached to the emperor. The prefect of Rome, the tribunes, and the senate think to revive the ancient republic. But that which at one time was an enterprise of heroes, at another season becomes a seditious insurrection. Otho flies back to Italy and orders one-half of the senate to be hanged. The prefect of Rome, who wanted to be another Brutus, was scourged in the public street, carried in procession naked upon an ass, and thrown into a dungeon, where he died in extreme misery. These executions do not at all recommend the German government to the Italians.

967 — The emperor sends for his young son, Otho, to Rome, and associates him in the empire.

968 — He negotiates with Nicephorus Phocas, emperor of the Greeks, a match between his own son and that emperor's daughter. The Greek deceives him, and Otho deprives him of Apulia and Calabria by way of dower to the young Princess Theophania, whom, however, he has not in his power.

969 — To this year almost all the chronologists place the adventure of Otho, archbishop of Mentz, who was besieged in a tower in the middle of the Rhine by an army of mice that swam the river and devoured him. Probably those who still load history with such childish trifles have no other design than that of leaving upon record those ancient monuments of weak superstition to show from what darkness Europe is scarce delivered.

970 — John Zimisses, who dethrones the Emperor

Nicephorus, sends at length the Princess Theophania to Otho, for his son. Almost all authors agree that Otho had Apulia and Calabria with that princess, but the learned and exact Giannoni has proved that he never received that rich dower.

971-973 — Otho returns victorious to Saxony, which was his native country.

The duke of Bohemia, vassal of the empire, invades Moravia, which becomes an appendage to Bohemia.

A bishop is established at Prague. He is nominated by the duke of Bohemia and consecrated by the archbishop of Mentz.

At that time the archbishops of Magdeburg laid the foundation of their power. The title of metropolitan of the North and their extensive territories were one day to make them great princes.

Otho dies at Minleben, May 7, 973, with the glory of having re-established the empire of Charlemagne in Italy. But Charles was the avenger of Rome; Otho, the conqueror and oppressor; nor had his empire such vast and firm foundations as that of Charlemagne.

OTHO II.

THIRTEENTH EMPEROR.

974 — It plainly appears that emperors and kings were now made by election. Otho II., having been already elected emperor and king of Germany, contents himself with being proclaimed at Magdeburg

by the clergy and nobility of the country, which composed a middling assembly.

The despotism of the father, the fear of absolute power perpetuated in one family, but, above all, the ambition of Henry, duke of Bavaria, Otho's cousin, induces one-third of Germany to rebel.

Henry of Bavaria causes himself to be crowned emperor by the bishop of Frisingen. Poland and Denmark espouse his party, not as members of Germany and the empire, but as neighbors whose interest it was to disturb its peace.

975 — The party of Otho II. is the first that arms, and by this diligence he preserves the empire. His troops surmount the entrenchments which separated Denmark from Germany, and which serve no other purpose than that of demonstrating the weakness of that nation.

He enters Bohemia, which had declared for Henry of Bavaria; he marches to the duke of Poland, who is said to have taken the oath of allegiance to Otho as a vassal.

It is to be observed that all these oaths were taken on the knee, with the hands joined together, and thus the bishops administered the oath to kings.

976 — Henry of Bavaria, being abandoned, is imprisoned at Quedlinburg, and thence exiled to Elric with the bishop of Augsburg, who was his partisan.

977 — The limits of Germany and France were then very uncertain. There was no longer any men-

tion made of Eastern and Western France. The kings of Germany extended their territorial superiority as far as the confines of Champagne and Picardy. By territorial superiority we must not understand a direct dominion or possession of lands, but the superiority of the lands, the right of paramount and of fine. In the sequel, this expression of territorial superiority has, by mere ignorance of the terms, been applied to the actual possession of the domains which are held by the empire, which is, on the contrary, a territorial inferiority.

The dukes of Lorraine, Brabant, and Hainault had done homage for their lands to the last kings of Germany. Lotharius, king of France, revives his pretensions to these countries. The royal authority began to be a little vigorous in France at this time, and Lotharius took advantage of the conjuncture to attack at once Upper and Lower Lorraine.

978 — Otho assembles nearly sixty thousand men, ravages all Champagne, and penetrates even to Paris. At that time they neither knew how to fortify the frontiers, nor to make war in the open country. Military expeditions were no more than ravages.

Otho, in his return, is defeated in crossing the river Ain. Geoffrey, count of Anjou, surnamed Grisegonnelle, pursues him without ceasing in the forest of Ardennes, and proposes, according to the rules of chivalry, to decide the quarrel by single combat. The emperor refuses the challenge, either

because he thought it was beneath his dignity to fight hand to hand with Grisegonnelle, or because, being cruel, he wanted courage.

979 — The emperor and king of France make peace, in consequence of which Charles, brother of Lotharius, receives Lower Lorraine from the emperor, together with part of Upper Lorraine. He does homage to him on his knees, and this submission is said to have cost his posterity the kingdom of France; at least Hugh Capet made use of that pretext to make him odious.

980 — While Otho II. strengthened himself in Germany, the Romans had endeavored to shake off the German yoke. One Cencius was declared consul, and he and his party had made a pope whose name was Boniface VII. A count of Toscanella, who was an enemy to his faction, had elected another pope, and Boniface VII. had gone to Constantinople to invite the Greek emperors, Basilius and Constantine, to come and retake Rome. The Greek emperors were not strong enough for such an enterprise. To them the pope joined the Arabians of Africa, choosing to make Rome Mahometan rather than German. The Christian Greeks and Mussulman Africans unite their squadrons, and together take possession of the country of Naples.

Otho II. repairs to Italy and marches to Rome.

981 — As Rome was divided, he found immediate admission. He lodges in the pope's palace, invites several senators and the partisans of Cencius to

dinner. Soldiers enter during the repast and murder the guests. This was renewing the times of Marius, and this was all that remained of ancient Rome. But is the fact really true? Geoffrey of Viterbo relates it two hundred years after it is supposed to have happened.

982 — After this bloody feast it is necessary to march into Apulia to fight the Greeks and Saracens, who came to revenge and serve the city of Rome. He had a number of Italian troops in his army, and they were good for nothing but treason.

The Germans are entirely defeated. The bishop of Augsburg and abbot of Fulda are killed fighting in the field of battle. The emperor escapes in disguise and embarks as a passenger in a Greek vessel. This vessel sails near Capua; the emperor throws himself into the sea, swims ashore, and takes refuge in Capua.

983 — Things were now on the brink of a great revolution. The Germans had well nigh lost all Italy; the Greeks and Mussulmans were going to quarrel about Rome; but Capua is still fatal to the conquerors of the Romans. The Greeks and the Arabians cannot agree. Their army is inconsiderable. They give Otho time to reassemble the wreck of his troops and to declare his son Otho, who was but ten years old, emperor at Verona.

One Otho, duke of Bavaria, had been killed in the battle. Bavaria is given to his son. The emperor marches by Rome with his new army.

After having sacked the infidel Beneventum, he causes his chancellor of Italy to be elected pope. One would imagine he would have marched against the Greeks and Arabians. No such matter: he holds a council. All these circumstances plainly show that his army was weak, that the conquerors were as weak, and the Romans weaker than either. Instead of going to fight, therefore, he confirms the erection of Hamburg and Bremen into an archbishop's see; he makes regulations for Saxony, and dies in Rome, September 7, without glory, although he leaves his son emperor. The Greeks and Saracens retreat, after having ruined Apulia and Calabria, made as bad a figure in war as Otho, and raised the whole country against them.

OTHO III.

FOURTEENTH EMPEROR.

983 — How should Germany acknowledge an emperor and king of the Romans who was but ten years old, acknowledged only at Verona, and whose father was defeated by the Saracens? That same Henry of Bavaria who had disputed the crown with the father escapes from the prison of Maestricht, in which he was confined, and under pretence of acting as tutor to his cousin, the young emperor Otho III., secures his person and conducts him to Magdeburg.

984 — Germany is divided into two factions. Henry of Bavaria is supported by Bohemia and

Poland, but the greater part of the lords of the great fiefs, and the bishops, hoping to be more their own masters under a prince of ten years of age, oblige Henry to set the young Otho at liberty and acknowledge him as emperor, in consideration of which he is at last reinstated in the possession of Bavaria.

Otho III. is then solemnly proclaimed at Weissenstadt.

He is served at dinner by the great officers of the empire. Henry of Bavaria performs the office of steward, count palatine of great cup-bearer, the duke of Saxony of great master of the horse, the duke of Franconia of great chamberlain. The dukes of Bohemia and Poland are present as great vassals.

The education of the emperor is committed to the care of the archbishop of Mentz and the bishop of Ildesheim.

During these troubles Lotharius, king of France, attempts to retake Upper Lorraine, and makes himself master of Verdun.

986 — After the death of Lotharius, Verdun is restored to Germany.

987 — Louis V., the last king in France of the race of Charlemagne, dying in the second year of his reign, Charles, duke of Lorraine, his uncle and heir of blood, in vain pretends to the crown of France. Hugh Capet, by his power and address, proves that the right of election was then in force.

988 — The abbot of Verdun obtains at Cologne permission to go without a sword, and refuses to

command in person the soldiers he owes when the emperor raises forces.

Otho III. confirms all the privileges of the bishops and abbots. Their privilege and their duty was then to wear the sword, seeing the abbot of Verdun had occasion to sue for a particular dispensation.

989 — The Danes choose this opportunity to enter by the Elbe and the Weser. They now began to perceive in Germany the necessity of negotiating with Sweden against Denmark, and the bishop of Schleswig is charged with this negotiation.

The Swedes defeat the Danes at sea. The north of Germany has a little respite.

990 — The rest of Germany becomes a prey to feuds between private noblemen, and these feuds, which the sovereigns cannot appease, show that they had more right than power. The case is still worse in Italy.

Pope John XV., son of a priest, at that time possessed the chair and was favorable to the emperor. Crescentius, the new consul, son of the consul Crescentius, whose father was John X., had a mind to maintain the shadow of the ancient republic, and expelled the pope from Rome. The empress Theophania, mother of Otho III., had come with troops, under the command of the marquis of Brandenburg, to maintain the imperial authority in Italy.

While the marquis of Brandenburg is at Rome the Slavs seize his marquisate.

991-996 — The Slavs, with a crew of other bar-

barians, besiege Magdeburg. They are repulsed with difficulty, they retire to Pomerania, and cede some villages of Brandenburg, which extend the marquisate.

Austria was then a marquisate also, and no less unhappy than Brandenburg, being the frontier of the Hungarians.

The emperor's mother had returned from Italy without having been able to appease the troubles of that country, and died at Nimeguen. The cities of Lombardy did not acknowledge the emperor.

Otho III. levies troops; besieges Milan, where he is crowned; elects his relative, Pope Gregory V., as he had elected a bishop of Spires, and is consecrated in Rome by his kinsman, together with his empress, Maria, daughter of Don Garcia, king of Aragon and Castile.

997 — It is strange that the modern authors, Maimbourg, and so many others, should still relate the fable of the amours of this empress with a count of Modena, and the punishment of the gallant and his mistress. It is pretended that the emperor, being more incensed against the mistress than the gallant, ordered his wife to be burned alive, and only condemned his rival to lose his head; and that the count's widow, having proved her husband's innocence, had four fine castles by way of indemnity. This fable had already been invented upon one Andaberta, the wife of Emperor Louis II. These

are romances, the falsity of which is proved by the sage and learned Muratori.

The emperor, acknowledged at Rome, returns to Germany; finds the Slavs masters of Bernburg, and deprives the archbishop of Magdeburg of the government of that country, because he had allowed himself to be defeated by the Slavs.

998 — While Otho III. is employed against the barbarians of the North, the consul Crescentius at Rome expels Gregory V., by whom he is excommunicated at Pavia, and Otho repairs to Italy in order to punish the consul.

Crescentius sustains a siege in Rome, which, however, he surrenders in a few days, and retires into Adrian's Mole, then called The Mole of Crescentius, and now The Castle of St. Angelo. There he dies fighting, though the manner of his death is not known; but he seems to have deserved the name of consul, which he bore. The emperor takes his widow for a mistress, and by his orders the pope nominated by Crescentius has his tongue and eyes pulled out. But, indeed, Otho and his mistress are said to have done penance, to have gone in pilgrimage to a monastery, and even to have lain upon a rush mat.

999 — He makes a decree by which the Germans only shall have the right to elect a Roman emperor, and the popes shall be obliged to crown him. Gregory V., his relative, did not fail to sign this decree, and the following popes to reject it.

1000 — Otho returns to Saxony, and passes into Poland. He bestows the title of king upon the duke, but not upon his descendants. We shall see that the emperors created kings and dukes by brevet. Boleslaus receives the crown from him, does homage to the empire, and obliges himself to pay a slight annual service.

Pope Sylvester II., some years after, conferred the same title upon him, pretending that none but the pope had a right to bestow it. It is very strange that one sovereign should demand a title from another, but custom makes everything familiar. Historians say that Otho, going afterwards to Aix-la-Chapelle, ordered the tomb of Charlemagne to be opened, and found that emperor, still undecayed, sitting upon a throne of gold with a crown of precious stones upon his head and a great golden sceptre in his hand. If Charlemagne had been interred in this manner, the Normans, who destroyed Aix-la-Chapelle, would not have left him upon his throne of gold.

1001 — The Greeks then abandoned the country of Naples, but the Saracens often repeated their visits. The emperor repasses the Alps in order to put a stop to their progress and that of the defenders of the Italian liberty, more dangerous than the Saracens.

1002 — The Romans besiege his palace in Rome, and all he can do is to fly with the pope and his mistress, the widow of Crescentius. He dies at

Paterno, a small town of the Campagna of Rome, nearly thirty years of age. Several authors say he was poisoned by his mistress because he would not make her empress, others that he was poisoned by the Romans, who wanted no emperor. This fact may be probable, but it is not at all proved. His death left as undecided as ever that long struggle of the papacy against the empire, of the Romans against both, and of the Italian liberty against the German power. This is what keeps Europe always attentive; this is the clue that conducts us through the labyrinth of the history of Germany.

Those three Othos, who re-established the empire, have all three besieged Rome and filled the streets with blood, and Arnold had sacked it before their time.

1003 — Otho III. left no children. Twenty noblemen pretend to the empire. One of the most powerful was Henry, duke of Bavaria, and the most obstinate of his rivals was Eckard, marquis of Thuringia. The marquis is assassinated to facilitate the election of the Bavarian, who, at the head of an army, causes himself to be consecrated at Mentz, July 19.

HENRY II.

FIFTEENTH EMPEROR.

1003 — Scarcely is Henry of Bavaria crowned when he causes Herman, duke of Suabia and Alsace, who was his competitor, to be declared an enemy to

the empire. He engages Strasburg in his interest. It was already a powerful city. He ravages Suabia, marches into Saxony, exacts the oath of allegiance from the duke of Saxony, the archbishops of Magdeburg and Bremen, the counts palatine, and even Boleslaus, king of Poland. He is acknowledged by the Slavs who inhabit Pomerania.

He marries Cunegonda, daughter of the first count of Luxemburg; he makes a progress through the provinces; receives the homage of the bishops of Liège and Cambray, who take the oath upon their knees. At last he is acknowledged by the duke of Saxony, who, like the rest, takes the oath.

The efforts of the Italian weakness against the German government are incessantly renewed. A certain Marquis de Ivrea, called Ardouin, attempts to make himself king of Italy. He is elected by the noblemen, and takes the title of Cæsar. Then the archbishops of Milan began to pretend that a king of Lombardy could not be made without their consent, as the popes pretended that an emperor could not be made without theirs. Arnolphus, archbishop of Milan, addresses himself to King Henry, for it was always the Italians who invited the Germans, whom they could neither bear with, nor be without.

Henry sends troops to Italy under Otho, duke of Carinthia. King Ardouin defeats these troops near the Tyrol. The emperor Henry could not leave Germany, where he was detained by troubles of another nature.

1004 — The new Christian king of Poland takes advantage of the weakness of Boleslaus, duke of Bohemia; makes himself master of his dominions, and puts out his eyes, conforming himself to the practice of the Christian emperors of the East and West. He takes all Bohemia, Meissen and Lusatia. Henry II. contents himself with demanding that he will do him homage for the dominions he has invaded. The king of Poland laughs at the demand, and engages in an alliance with several princes of Germany against Henry, who, therefore, is resolved to preserve Germany before he goes to oppose the new Cæsar of Italy.

1005 — He reconciles himself to the bishops, negotiates with the noblemen, levies soldiers, and disconcerts the association.

The Hungarians began to embrace Christianity through the care of the missionaries, whose sole aim is to extend their religion, while that of princes is to extend their dominions.

Stephen, chief of the Hungarians, who had married the sister of Henry, the emperor, becomes a Christian about this time, and, luckily for Germany, makes war with his Christian Hungarians against the idolatrous Hungarians.

The Church of Rome, which had allowed itself to be anticipated by the emperors in the nomination of a king of Poland, is beforehand with them in regard to Hungary. Pope John XIX. confers upon Stephen of Hungary the title of king and apostle.

with the right of having the cross carried before him like the archbishops, and Hungary is divided into ten bishoprics much better filled with idolaters than with Christians.

The archbishop of Milan presses Henry II. to come to Italy against his king, Ardouin. Accordingly Henry sets out for that country by the way of Bavaria, the states or parliament of which are then electing a duke, and Henry of Luxemburg, the emperor's brother-in-law, is unanimously chosen — an important fact, which shows the rights of the people were reckoned of some consideration.

Henry, before he passed the Alps, leaves his wife, Cunegonda, in the hands of the archbishop of Magdeburg. It is pretended that he had made a vow of chastity with her; a vow of imbecility in an emperor.

He is no sooner in the neighborhood of Verona than the Cæsar Ardouin betakes himself to flight. We always see the kings of Italy when the Germans are not there; but as soon as these set foot in Italy, the kings are seen no more.

Henry is crowned at Pavia. There they conspire against his life. He stifles the conspiracy, and after abundance of bloodshed pardons the conspirators.

He does not go to Rome, but, according to the custom of his predecessors, quits Italy with all possible despatch.

1006 — It is always the fate of the German princes to be recalled by troubles at home when they might secure their dominions in Italy.

He goes to defend the Bohemians against the Poles. Being received in Prague, he gives the investiture of the duchy of Bohemia to Jaromir. He passes the Oder, pursues the Poles into their own country, and makes peace with them.

He builds Bamberg, and there founds a bishopric, but he gives the feudal lordship to the pope. He is said to have reserved to himself no more than the right of lodging in the castle.

He assembles a council at Frankfort upon the Main, solely on account of this new bishopric of Bamberg, which the bishop of Würzburg opposes as a dismembering of his bishopric. The emperor prostrates himself before the bishops. They discuss the rights of Bamberg and Würzburg without coming to any agreement.

1007 — The Prussians or Borussians begin to be talked of. They were barbarians who lived upon horses' blood, inhabiting latterly the deserts between Poland and the Baltic. They are said to have worshipped serpents. They frequently plundered the territories of Poland. There must have been something to be got among them, seeing the Poles also made incursions into their country.

1008-09 — Otho, duke of Lower Lorraine, the last known descendant of Charlemagne, being dead, Henry II. gives that duchy to Godfrey, count of the Ardennes. This donation is productive of troubles. The duke of Bavaria takes advantage of them to disturb Henry, but is expelled from Bavaria.

1010 — Herman, son of Eckard of Thuringia, receives from Henry II. the marquisate of Meissen.

1011 — War is still carried on with Poland. It is only since she became a feudatory to Germany that Germany has wars with her.

Glogau already existed in Silesia, and is besieged. The Silesians were united with the Poles.

1012 — Henry, fatigued with all these troubles, is desirous of being made canon of Strasburg. He makes a vow to that purpose, and in order to accomplish his vow founds a canonate, the possessor of which is called "King of the Choir." Having laid aside the design of being a canon, he goes to fight the Poles and calms the troubles in Bohemia.

At this period is placed the adventure of Cunegonda, who, being accused of adultery after having made a vow of chastity, proves her innocence by handling red-hot iron. This tale must be ranked with the funeral pile of the empress Mary of Aragon.

1013 — As soon as the emperor quitted Italy Ardouin repossessed himself of it, and the archbishop of Milan incessantly entreats Henry II. to come and reign.

Henry repasses the Alps of Tyrol a second time, and the Slavs seize that very juncture to renounce the little Christianity they knew and ravage the whole territory of Hamburg.

1014 — As soon as the emperor is in the Veronese Ardouin betakes himself to flight. The Romans are

ready to receive Henry. He comes to Rome to be crowned with Cunegonda. Pope Benedict VIII. changes the form. He first asks him on the steps of St. Peter's: "Will you be faithful in all things to me and my successors?" This was a kind of homage which the cunning of the pope extorted from the simplicity of the emperor.

The emperor goes to subdue Lombardy. He passes through Burgundy, visits the abbey of Clugny, and desires to be associated in the community. He afterwards repairs to Verdun, and desires to become a monk in the abbey of St. Vall. It is pretended that the abbot, being wiser than Henry, said to him: "Monks owe obedience to their abbots: I order you to continue emperor."

1015-18 — These years produce nothing but petty wars in Bohemia and on the frontiers of Poland. All that part of Germany from the Elbe is more barbarous and miserable than ever. Every nobleman who could arm a few peasants — serfs — made war upon his neighbor, and when the possessors of the great fiefs had wars of their own to maintain they obliged their vassals to leave their own particular quarrels to come and serve them This was called, "The Law of Truce."

How could the emperors choose to live in the midst of such barbarity instead of going to reside in Rome? Because, in order to be acknowledged by the Romans, it was necessary to be powerful among the Germans.

1019-21 — The emperor's authority in Lombardy was strengthened by his lieutenants. But the Saracens still continued their depredations upon Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, and this year fell upon Tuscany. But their incursions in Italy were like those of the Slavs and Hungarians in Germany. They were no longer in a condition to make great conquests, because they were divided and weakened in Spain. The Greeks still possessed a great part of Apulia and Calabria, governed by a Catapan. One Millo, prince of Bari, and a prince of Salerno took arms against this Catapan.

Then appeared, for the first time, those adventurers of Normandy who afterwards founded the kingdom of Naples. They served Millo against the Greeks. Pope Benedict VIII. and Millo, being equally afraid of the Greeks and Saracens, go to Bamberg to demand succor of the emperor.

Henry II. confirms the donations of his predecessors to the see of Rome, reserving to himself the sovereign power. He confirms a decree made at Pavia, by which the clerks are restricted from having either wives or concubines.

1022 — There being a necessity for opposing the Greeks and Mahometans in Italy, he goes thither in the spring. His army is chiefly composed of bishops at the head of their own troops. This holy emperor, who would not suffer an under-deacon to have a wife, allowed the bishops to wallow in human blood; inconsistencies too frequent among men.

He sends troops towards Capua and to Apulia, but does not make himself master of the country, and it was but an indifferent conquest to seize the abbot of Monte Cassino, who had declared against him, and cause another to be elected in his room.

1023 — He very soon repasses the Alps, according to the maxim of his predecessors, never to stay long from Germany. He agrees with Robert, king of France, to have an interview in a boat upon the Meuse between Sedan and Mouzon. The emperor anticipates the king of France by frankly going to the camp. This was rather a visit of friends than a conference of kings — an example which has been seldom imitated.

1024 — The emperor afterwards makes a tour of a great part of Germany in profound peace, leaving everywhere marks of justice and generosity.

He felt his end approaching, although he was but fifty-two years of age, and historians write that before his death he said to the parents of his wife: "You gave me her a virgin, and I restore you her a virgin" — a very strange declaration from a husband, and still more strange from a crowned husband. He died July 14, and his body was carried to Bamberg, which was his favorite town. The canons of Bamberg canonized him a hundred years after his death.

CONRAD II., SURNAMED THE SALIC.

SIXTEENTH EMPEROR.

1024 — One cannot sufficiently wonder at the prodigious number of dissertations upon the seven pretended electors who were supposed to be instituted at this time. Be this as it will, there never had been a greater assembly than that in which Conrad II. was elected. They were obliged to hold it in the open fields, between Worms and Mentz. The dukes of Saxony, Bohemia, Bavaria, Carinthia, Suabia, Franconia, of Upper and Lower Lorraine, together with a prodigious number of counts, bishops, and abbots, gave their votes. It must be observed that the magistrates of the towns were present, though they did not give their suffrages. They encamped six weeks in the field of election, before it was determined.

At length the choice fell upon Conrad, surnamed the Salic, because he was born on the river Sal. He was a nobleman of Franconia, whom they derived from Otho the Great by the female line. In all probability, he was chosen as the least dangerous of all the pretenders. Indeed, we find no great towns belonging to him, and he is no more the chief of powerful vassals, every one of whom is as powerful as himself.

1025-26 — Germany was always considered as the centre of the empire, and the name of the em-

peror seems to have been confounded with that of the king of Germany. The Italians snatched all opportunities to separate these two titles.

The deputies of the great fiefs in Italy come and offer the empire to Robert, king of France. At that time it was the present of an unsubstantial title, and of substantial wars, therefore Robert wisely refuses the proffer. They address themselves to the duke of Guienne, a peer of France, who accepts it, because he had less to lose. But Pope John XX. and the archbishop of Milan bring Conrad the Salic into Italy. First of all his son Henry must be elected and crowned king of Germany. It was then the custom of France and of every other nation.

He is obliged to besiege Pavia. He undergoes seditions at Ravenna. Every German emperor, though invited to Italy, meets with a bad reception.

1027 — Scarce is Conrad crowned at Rome, when he finds himself no longer in safety. He returns to Germany, where he finds a faction against him. These are the causes of the frequent journeys of the emperors.

1028-30 — Henry, duke of Bavaria, being dead, Stephen, king of Hungary, his relative by his mother, demands Bavaria, to the prejudice of the last duke's son — a proof that the rights of blood were not yet thoroughly established: indeed, nothing was. The emperor gives Bavaria to the son. The Hungarians attempt to take it by force of arms. They fight, and then peace is made; and, after the

death of this Stephen, the emperor has credit enough to raise one Peter, a kinsman of Stephen, to the throne of Hungary. He has, moreover, power enough to exact homage, and extort a tribute from the said Peter, whom the incensed Hungarians call Peter the German. The popes, who still believed they had erected Hungary into a kingdom, would not have wished to hear him called Peter the Roman.

Ernest, duke of Suabia, who had taken arms against the emperor, is put to the ban of the empire. Ban at first signified banner, afterwards edict or proclamation, and then banishment. This is one of the first examples of that proscription. The form was: "We declare thy wife a widow, thy children orphans, and we send thee, in the name of the devil, to the four corners of the earth."

1031-1032 — At this time the sovereigns of Silesia began to be known. They are neither under the yoke of Bohemia nor of Poland. Poland insensibly detaches itself from the empire, which it will no longer acknowledge.

1032-1034 — If the empire loses one vassal in Poland, it acquires a hundred in the kingdom of Burgundy.

Rudolph, the last king, who had no children, leaves at his death his dominions to Conrad the Salic. This was but a very small extent of dominion, with the territorial superiority, or at least pretensions to the superiority, that is, right of paramount over the Swiss, the Grisons, Provence, Franche-Comté,

Savoy, Geneva, and Dauphiny. Hence the lands on the other side of the Rhine are still called the lands of the empire. All the noblemen of those cantons, who formerly held of Rudolph, now hold of the emperor.

Some bishops were likewise erected into feudatory princes. Conrad gave them all the same rights. The emperors still raise the bishops in order to oppose them to the noblemen, for they were always at ease when those two bodies were divided, and very much disturbed when they were united.

The sees of Lyons, Besançon, Ambrun, Vienne, Lausanne, Geneva, Basel, Grenoble, Valence, Gap, and Die, were imperial fiefs.

Of all the feudatories of Burgundy, one only lays the foundations of a durable power. That is Humbert with the White Hands, from whom the dukes of Savoy are descended. He had no more than the Morienne, when the emperor gave him the Chablais, the Valais, and St. Maurice. In the same manner, from Poland to the Scheldt, and from the Saône to Garillan, the emperors everywhere created princes, and looked upon themselves as lords paramount of almost all Europe.

1035-39 — Italy, still involved in troubles, recalls Conrad. That same archbishop of Milan, who had crowned the emperor, was for that very reason against him, because his rights and pretensions were augmented by it. Conrad causes him to be apprehended with three other bishops. He is afterwards

obliged to besiege Milan, which, however, he could not take. There he loses part of his army, and as a consequence, his credit at Rome.

He goes to make laws at Beneventum and Capua, but, in the meantime, the Norman adventurers make conquests in that country.

At length he re-enters Milan by means of negotiations, and returns to Germany, according to custom.

He is taken ill, and dies at Utrecht, June 4, 1039.

HENRY III.

SEVENTEENTH EMPEROR.

1039-42 — Henry III., surnamed "the Black," son of Conrad, already crowned while his father was alive, is acknowledged without difficulty. He is crowned and consecrated a second time by the archbishop of Cologne. The first years of his reign are signalized by wars with Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary, which, however, produce no great event.

He bestows the archbishopric of Lyons, and invests the archbishop, by the cross and ring, without any contradiction; two circumstances very remarkable, which prove that Lyons was an imperial town, and that the kings possessed the right of investing bishops.

1042-46 — Rome and Italy were involved as usual in great confusion.

The house of Toscanella had always the chief authority in Rome. It had purchased the pontificate for a child of twelve years of age belonging to that family. Two others having purchased it at the same time, these three pontiffs shared the revenues equally among them, and agreed to live peaceably, leaving all political affairs to the chief of the house of Toscanella.

This singular triumvirate continued as long as they had money to consult their pleasures, and when they had no more, each sold his part of the papacy to the Deacon Gratian, whom Father Maimbourg calls a holy priest, a man of quality, very rich. But as young Benedict XI. had been elected a long time before the other two, he by a solemn agreement, was allowed to enjoy the tribute which England then paid to Rome, under the appellation of St. Peter's Pence, and to which the kings of England had long submitted.

This Gratian, who took the name of Gregory VI. and who is reckoned to have conducted himself wisely, enjoyed the pontificate in peace, when the emperor Henry III. came to Rome.

Never emperor exercised more authority in that place. He deposed Gregory VI. as having been guilty of simony, and nominated to the papacy his own chancellor, Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, without any person's daring to murmur.

The chancellor, having become pope, consecrates the emperor and his wife, and promises all that the

popes have at any time promised to the emperors, when these latter happened to be the stronger.

1047 — Henry III. bestows the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and almost all the Beneventine, except the town of Beneventum, and its territory, upon the Norman princes, who had conquered these countries from the Greeks and Saracens. The popes did not, at that time, pretend to give these dominions. The town of Beneventum then belonged to the Pandolphi of Toscanella.

The emperor returns to Germany, and fills all the vacant sees.

1048 — The duchy of Mosellanic Lorraine is given to Gerard of Alsace, and that of Lower Lorraine to the house of Luxemburg. The house of Alsace, since that time, is known only by the titles of marquises and dukes of Lorraine.

The pope being dead, we again find the emperor giving a pope to Rome, just as he gave away any other benefice. Henry III. sends a Bavarian called Popo, who is immediately acknowledged as pope, under the name of Damasus II.

1049 — Damasus dying, the emperor, in the Assembly of Worms, nominates Bruno, bishop of Toul, to the papacy, and sends him to take possession. This is Pope Leo IX., the first who kept his own bishopric together with that of Rome. It is not surprising that the emperors should thus dispose of the holy see. Theodora and Marosia had accustomed the Romans to this submission, and with-

out Nicholas II. and Gregory VII. the pontificate would have been always dependent. Their feet would have been kissed, and they themselves would have been slaves.

1050-52 — The Hungarians kill their king, Peter, renounce the Christian religion, and the homage they had done to the empire. Henry III. makes war upon them unsuccessfully, and cannot put an end to it in any other way but by giving his daughter in marriage to Andrew, the new king, who was a Christian, although his subjects were not.

1053 — Pope Leo IX. comes to Worms, to complain to the emperor that the Norman princes were become too powerful.

Henry III. resumes the feudal rights of Bamberg, and gives the pope the town of Beneventum in exchange. He could give the pope no more than the town, as the Norman princes had done homage to the empire for the rest of the duchy, but the emperor furnished the pope with an army to expel these new conquerors, who had become too near neighbors to Rome.

Leo IX. marches against them with this army, one-half of which is commanded by ecclesiastics.

Humfroid, Richard, and Robert Guiscard, or Guichard, those Normans so famous in history, cut in pieces the pope's army, though three times as numerous as their own. They take the pope prisoner, prostrate themselves before him, and lead him captive to the town of Beneventum.

1054 — The emperor affects absolute power. The duke of Bavaria, being at war with the bishop of Ratisbon, Henry III. espouses the bishop's cause, summons the duke of Bavaria to appear before his privy council, strips him of his dominions, and gives Bavaria to his own son Henry, about three years of age. This is the famous Henry IV.

The duke of Bavaria takes refuge among the Hungarians, whom he in vain endeavors to interest in his revenge.

The emperor proposes to the noblemen, who are most attached to his interest, to secure the empire to his son, who is an infant. He is accordingly declared king of the Romans in the castle of Tribur, near Mentz. This was not a new title. It had been assumed by Ludolphus, the son of Otho I.

1055 — He makes a treaty of alliance with Contarini, duke of Venice. That republic was already rich and powerful, though it did not coin money till after the year 950, and was not enfranchised till after 998, from the acknowledgment of a mantle of cloth of gold, the only tribute which it had paid to the emperors.

Genoa was its rival in power and commerce. She was already in possession of Corsica, which she had taken from the Arabians, but her trade was much more advantageous than the possession of Corsica, which the Pisans disputed with her.

There were no such towns in Germany; all beyond the Rhine was poor and wretched. The

people of the North, and those of the East, still poorer, continued to ravage these countries.

1056 — The Slavs make another irruption, and desolate the duchy of Saxony.

Henry III. dies near Paderborn, in the arms of Pope Victor II., who before his death consecrates his son Henry emperor, in the sixth year of his age.

HENRY IV.

EIGHTEENTH EMPEROR.

1056 — A woman governs the empire. She was French, daughter of a duke of Guienne, peer of France, called Agnes, mother of the young emperor Henry IV. She, who had by the right of guardianship the patrimonial estates of her son, had that of the empire, because she was possessed of courage and address.

1057-1069 — The first years of the reign of Henry IV. are obscure times of trouble.

Private noblemen make war upon one another in Germany. The duke of Bohemia, still vassal of the empire, is attacked by Poland, which will no longer be a member of it.

The Hungarians, so long formidable to Germany, are at length obliged to solicit succor of the Germans against the Poles, become dangerous, and notwithstanding that succor they are defeated. King Andrew and his queen fly for refuge to Ratisbon.

No policy or great design seems to have influenced

these wars, which are produced from the slightest causes. Sometimes they are derived from the spirit of chivalry, by this time introduced into Germany. A count of Holland, for example, goes to war against the bishops of Cologne and Liège, on account of a quarrel that happened in a tournament.

The rest of Europe takes no share in the affairs of Germany; there is no war with France, no influence in England and the North, and very little at that time in Italy, though Henry IV. was both king and emperor of that country.

The empress Agnes finds it difficult to maintain her regency.

At length, in 1601, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, uncles of Henry IV., the archbishop of Cologne, and other princes, carry off the emperor from his mother, who is accused of sacrificing everything to the bishop of Augsburg, her minister and gallant. She flies to Rome, and there takes the veil, and the noblemen remain masters of the emperor, and of Germany, during his minority.

Meanwhile, after abundance of troubles in Italy, still excited on account of the pontificate, Pope Nicholas II., in 1059, had decreed in a council of a hundred and thirteen bishops, that for the future the cardinals only should elect the pope, who should afterwards be presented to the people, to have the election confirmed. "Saving," added he, "the honor and respect due to our dear son Henry, now king, who, if it pleases God, shall be emperor, according

to the right which we have already conferred upon him."

Thus advantage was taken of the minority of Henry IV. to establish the rights and pretensions which the pontiffs of Rome always maintained when they could.

At that time a custom was established, which the dread of the rapaciousness of a thousand petty tyrants of Italy had introduced. A man gave his lands to the Church under the title of "oblata," and continued feudatory possession for a slight acknowledgment. This is the origin of the superiority of Rome over the kingdom of Naples.

The same Pope Nicholas II., after having in vain excommunicated the Norman conquerors, made protectors and vassals of them, and those who were feudatories of the empire, and less afraid of the popes than of the emperors, do homage for their lands to Pope Nicholas, in the council of Melphi, in the year 1059. The popes in the beginning of their power resembled the caliphs in the decay of their dominions; they bestowed the investiture on the strongest competitor.

Robert receives of the pope the ducal crown of Apulia and Calabria, and is invested by the standard. Richard is confirmed prince of Capua, and the pope, moreover, gives them Sicily, in case they expel the Saracens from that island.

In effect, Robert and his brothers make themselves

masters of Sicily in 1061, and thereby do the greatest service to Italy.

It was not till long after this period that the popes got possession of Beneventum, left by the Norman princes to the Pandolphi of the house of Toscanella.

1069 — Henry IV., being now of age, frees himself from the captivity in which he was detained by the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria.

Everything was then in the most horrible confusion. This may be judged by the right of ransoming travellers, a right which all the noblemen, from the Main and the Weser to the country of the Slavs, reckoned among their feudal prerogatives.

The right of pillaging the emperor seemed likewise very natural to the dukes of Bavaria, Saxony, and the marquis of Thuringia, who form an association against him.

1070 — Henry IV., assisted by the rest of the empire, dissipates this association.

Otho of Bavaria is put under the ban of the empire. He was the second sovereign of that duchy who underwent this disgrace. The emperor gives Bavaria to Guelph, son of Azo, marquis of Italy.

1071-72 — The emperor, though young and addicted to pleasure, makes a tour through Germany, to establish some sort of order.

The year 1072 is the first era of the famous quarrel about the investitures.

Alexander II. had been elected pope without consulting the imperial court, in spite of which he had

maintained his station. Hildebrand, born at Soanne, in Tuscany, of parents unknown, a monk of Clugny under the abbot Odilo, and afterwards cardinal, governed the pontificate. He is well known by the name of Gregory VII., a man of an enterprising genius, turbulent and fiery, but artful, even in the midst of his impetuosity, the most insolent of men and the most zealous of priests. He had already by his councils established and reinforced the authority of the Church.

He persuades Pope Alexander to summon the emperor to his tribunal. This would seem to have been a ridiculous piece of rashness, but if we consider the situation of the emperor, it was not. Saxony, Thuringia, and a great part of Germany had then declared against Henry IV.

1073 — Alexander II. dying, Hildebrand has credit enough to be elected by the people, without asking the votes of the cardinals, or waiting for the emperor's consent. He writes to that prince that he had been elected against his will, and was ready to resign. Henry IV. sends his chancellor to confirm the election of the pope, who, having nothing further to fear, takes off the mask.

1074 — Henry continues to make war upon the Saxons, and the association formed against him. Henry IV. is conqueror.

1075 — The Russians began to be Christians, and to be known in the West.

One Demetrius — for the Greek names had pen-

etrated even to that part of the world — expelled from his dominions by his brother, comes to Mentz, and implores the assistance of the emperor, and, what is still more remarkable, sends his son to Rome to prostrate himself at the feet of Gregory VII. as the judge of the Christians. The emperor was counted the temporal, and the pope the spiritual chief of Europe.

Henry totally destroys the association, and restores peace to the empire.

He seems to have been afraid of new revolutions, for he writes a very humble letter to the pope, in which he accuses himself of debauchery and simony, and we must believe his word. His confession gives Gregory the right of rebuking him. This is the fairest of all rights, but it does not give him that of disposing of crowns.

Gregory VII. writes to the bishops of Bremen, Constance, the archbishop of Mentz, and others, and orders them to come to Rome. "You have permitted clerks," says he, "to keep concubines, and even to take new ones — we order you to appear at the first council in Rome."

It was also necessary to settle the affair of tithes, which the bishops and abbots of Germany disputed with one another.

Gregory VII. is the first who proposes a crusade. He writes on that subject to Henry IV. He pretends that he himself will go and deliver the holy sepulchre at the head of fifty thousand men, and desires the

emperor to come and serve under him. The then prevailing spirit divests this idea of the pope of the air of madness, and leaves nothing but that of greatness.

The design of commanding the emperor, and all the kings, seems no less chimerical, yet this is what he undertakes, and not without some success.

Salomon, king of Hungary, driven from part of his dominions, and being master of no more than what lies between Presburg and Austria, comes to Worms, and renews the homage of Hungary to the empire.

Gregory VII. writes to him: "You ought to know that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Roman Church. Learn that you will incur the indignation of the holy see, if you do not acknowledge that you hold your dominions of it, and not of the king of Germany."

The pope exacts of the duke of Bohemia a hundred marks of silver, an annual tribute, and gives him, by way of recompense, the right of wearing the mitre.

1076 — Henry IV. always enjoyed the right of nominating bishops and abbots, and of giving the investiture by the cross and the ring. This right he had in common with almost all princes. It naturally belongs to the people to choose their own pontiffs and magistrates, and it is but just that their choice should concur with the royal authority, but this authority had usurped the whole. The emperors

filled vacant bishoprics, and Henry IV. sold them. Gregory, in opposing this abuse, maintained the natural liberty of mankind, but in opposing the concurrence of the imperial authority, he introduced a still greater abuse. Then broke out the divisions between the Empire and the Church.

The predecessors of Gregory VII. had sent legates to the emperors, for no other purpose but to entreat their succor, and desire them to come and be crowned in Rome. Gregory sends two legates to summon Henry to appear before him as a delinquent.

The legates, on their arrival at Goslar, are abandoned to the insults of the servants. By way of answer, a diet is held at Worms, at which almost all the noblemen, bishops, and abbots of Germany are present.

There a cardinal, called Hugh, demands justice for all the crimes he imputes to the popes. Gregory is deposed by a majority of voices, but there ought to have been an army to go and support that judgment at Rome.

The pope, on his side, deposes the emperor by a bull. "I forbid him," says he, "to govern the Teutonic kingdom and Italy, and release all his subjects from their oath of allegiance."

Gregory, more cunning than the emperor, well knew that these excommunications would be seconded by civil wars. He brings over the German bishops to his party. These bishops engage the

noblemen. They are joined by the Saxons, Henry's old enemies. The excommunication of Henry IV. serves them as a pretext.

The same Guelph to whom the emperor had given Bavaria, arms himself against him by means of his own bounty, and supports the malcontents.

At length, the majority of the bishops, and even of the princes, who had deposed Gregory VII. subject their emperor to the judgment of that pope. They desire that the pope will come and judge the emperor definitely at Augsburg.

1077 — The emperor would fain prevent this fatal judgment of Augsburg, and in consequence of an unheard-of resolution, goes, attended by a few domestics, to implore the absolution of the pope.

The pope was then in the fortress of Canossa, in the Apennines, with the countess Mathilda, the emperor's own cousin.

The countess Mathilda is the true cause of all the wars between the emperors and the popes, which have so long ravaged Italy. She possessed, in her own right, a great part of Tuscany, Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, Verona, and almost the whole of what is now called The Patrimony of St. Peter, from Viterbo to Orvieto, part of Umbria, Spoleto, and the march of Ancona. She was called the great countess, sometimes duchess. There was not then any form of title used in Europe. People said to kings, "Your excellency," "your serenity," "your grandeur," and "your

grace," indifferently. The title of majesty was rarely given to the emperors, and was rather an epithet than a name of honor attributed to the imperial dignity. There is still extant the patent of a donation of Mathilda to the bishop of Modena, which begins thus: "In presence of Mathilda, by the grace of God, duchess and countess." Her mother, who was sister of Henry III. and was very ill treated by her brother, had brought up this powerful princess in an implacable hatred to the house of Henry. She was submissive to the pope, who was her director, and, as his enemies say, her gallant. Her attachment to Gregory and her hatred of the Germans she carried to such a length as to make a donation of all her territories to the pope.

It was in the presence of this countess Mathilda that the emperor, in the month of January, 1077, barefoot and in haircloth, prostrated himself at the pope's feet, swearing that he would be submissive to him in all things, and go and wait his decree at Augsburg.

All the noblemen of Lombardy now began to be more dissatisfied with the pope than the emperor. Mathilda's donation filled them with alarm; they promise to succor Henry IV. if he will break the shameful treaty he has made. Then the world saw what had never been seen before, a German emperor assisted by Italy and abandoned by his own country.

The noblemen and bishops assembled at Forchheim, in Franconia, animated by the pope's legates,

depose the emperor, and reunite their suffrages in favor of Rudolph of Rheinfels, duke of Suabia.

1078 — Gregory then behaves like the supreme judge of kings; he has deposed Henry IV. but still it is in his power to pardon that monarch; he takes it amiss that they did not wait for his precise order to consecrate him, who was newly elected at Mentz; he declares from the fortress of Canossa, where he was blocked up by the noblemen of Lombardy, that he will acknowledge for emperor and king of Germany him of the competitors who shall obey him the most implicitly.

Henry IV. returns to Germany, reanimates his party and levies an army. Almost all Germany is, by means of the two factions, involved in blood and flames.

1079 — All the bishops are in arms in this war. A bishop of Strasburg, one of Henry's partisans, goes and plunders all the convents which had declared for the pope.

1080 — While they fight in Germany, Gregory VII. escapes from the Lombards, excommunicates Henry anew, and by his bull of March 7, "We give," says he, "the Teutonic kingdom to Rudolph, and we condemn Henry to be vanquished."

He sends to Rudolph a crown of gold, with this wretched verse, so well known: *"Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho."*

Henry IV., on his side, assembles thirty bishops, with some German and Lombard noblemen at

Brixen, and deposes the pope for the second time, as ineffectually as at first.

Bertrand, count of Provence, withdraws himself from his obedience to the emperors, and does homage to the pope. The town of Arles continues faithful to Henry.

Gregory VII. fortifies himself with the protection of the Norman princes, and gives them a new investiture, on condition that they shall always defend the popes.

Gregory encourages Rudolph and his party, and promises that Henry shall die within the year; but, in the famous battle of Merseburg, Henry IV., assisted by Godfrey of Bouillon, retorts the pope's prediction upon his competitor, Rudolph, who is mortally wounded by Godfrey's own hand.

1081 — Henry revenges himself upon Saxony, which then becomes the most miserable of all countries.

Before his departure for Italy he gives his daughter Agnes in marriage to Frederick, baron of Stauffen, who, as well as Godfrey of Bouillon, had helped him to gain the decisive battle of Merseburg. The duchy of Suabia is her dower. This is the origin of the illustrious and unfortunate house of Suabia.

Henry, being conqueror, marches into Italy. The places belonging to the countess Mathilda make resistance. He carries along with him a pope of his own making, called Guibert, but this very cir-

cumstance hinders him at first from being received in Rome.

1082 — The Saxons set up the shadow of an emperor, one count Hermann, scarce known in the world.

1083 — Henry besieges Rome. Gregory proposes to him to come once more and demand absolution, and promises to crown him on these terms. Henry, instead of answering, takes the city, and the pope shuts himself up in the castle of St. Angelo.

Robert Guiscard comes to his assistance, although he had, some years before, had his share of the excommunications which Gregory so liberally bestowed. A negotiation is set on foot, and the pope promises to crown Henry.

Gregory proposes to keep his promise by lowering down the crown with a rope from the walls of the castle of St. Angelo upon the emperor's head.

1084 — Henry is not satisfied with the pleasant ceremony. He exalts his antipope Guibert, and is solemnly crowned by his hands.

Meanwhile Robert Guiscard, having received a reinforcement of troops, compels the emperor to retire, releases the pope from the castle of St. Angelo, becomes at once his protector and master, and carries him to Salerno, where Gregory continues till his death the prisoner of his deliverers, but still talking as the master of kings and martyr of the Church.

1085 — The emperor returns to Rome, where

he causes himself and his pope to be acknowledged, and retreats with great haste to Germany, like all his predecessors, who seem to have come and taken Rome merely by way of ceremony. He is recalled by the divisions of Germany, and there is a necessity for crushing the antiemperor and taming the Saxons, but he never could raise great armies; consequently his success could never be complete.

1086 — He subdues Thuringia, but Bavaria, debauched by the ingratitude of Guelph, and half Suabia, which would not acknowledge his son-in-law, declared against him, and a civil war rages through all Germany.

1087 — Gregory VII. being dead, Didier, abbot of Monte Cassino, is pope, under the name of Victor III. The countess Mathilda, still faithful to her hatred of Henry IV., furnishes this Victor with troops to expel the emperor's garrison and this pope Guibert from Rome. Victor dies, and Rome continues subject to the imperial authority.

1088 — The antiemperor, Hermann, having now neither money nor troops, comes and throws himself on his knees before Henry IV., and dies at last in oblivion.

1089 — Henry IV. marries a Russian princess, widow of a marquis of Brandenburg of the house of Staden. This was by no means a political match.

He gives the marquisate of Meissen to the count of Lansberg, one of the most ancient Saxon nobleman;

from this marquis of Meissen the whole house of Saxony is descended.

Having pacified Germany, he repairs again to Italy. The greatest obstacle he finds there is still that countess Mathilda, lately remarried to young Guelph, son of that ungrateful Guelph to whom Henry IV. had given Bavaria.

The countess maintains the war in her dominions against the emperor, who returns to Germany without having done anything to any purpose.

This Guelph, Mathilda's husband, is said to have been the first origin of the faction of the Guelphs, by which name the party of the popes in Italy was afterwards called. The word Ghibelline was long after applied to the faction of the emperors, because Henry, son of Conrad III., was born at Waibling, of which the Italianized form is Ghibellino. But this derivation is disputed.

1090 — The new pope, Urban II., author of the Crusades, pursues Henry IV. with no less rancor than did Gregory VII.

The bishops of Constance and Passau excite an insurrection of the people. His new wife, Adelaide of Russia, and his son Conrad, born of Bertha, revolt against him. Never was emperor, husband, or father more unfortunate than Henry IV.

1091 — Empress Adelaide and her son-in-law, Conrad, pass into Italy. The countess Mathilda furnishes them with troops and money. Roger,

duke of Calabria, gives his daughter in marriage to Conrad.

Pope Urban, having made this powerful league, does not fail to excommunicate the emperor.

1092 — The emperor, when he last departed from Italy, had left a garrison in Rome; he was still master of the palace of the Lateran, which was quite strong, and in which his pope, Guibert, had taken refuge.

The commandant of the garrison sells both garrison and palace to the pope. Geoffroi, abbot of Vendôme, who was then at Rome, lends Urban money to make this bargain, and Urban reimburses him with the title of cardinal, which he settles upon him and his successors. Pope Guibert betakes himself to flight.

1090-95 — During these years the minds of men in Europe are engrossed by the idea of Crusades which the famous Peter the Hermit preached everywhere with an enthusiasm that spread like contagion from town to town.

A great council, or rather a prodigious assembly is held at Placentia in 1095. There were above forty thousand men, and the council was held in the open field. There the pope proposes the Crusade.

There Empress Adelaide and Countess Mathilda solemnly demanded justice of the emperor Henry IV.

Conrad comes and kisses the feet of Urban II., takes the oath of fidelity to him, and leads his horse

by the bridle. Urban promises to crown him emperor on condition that he will renounce the right of investiture. He afterwards kisses him on the face and dines with him in Cremona.

1096 — The Crusade having been preached in France with more success than at Placentia, Walter Lack-Means, Peter the Hermit, and a German monk called Godescald, take their march through Germany at the head of an army of vagabonds.

1097 — As these vagabonds wore the cross and had no money, and the Jews who carried on all the trade of Germany had a great deal, the Crusaders began their expeditions with them at Worms, Cologne, Mentz, Trier, and several other cities. They are massacred and burnt. Almost the whole city of Mentz is reduced to ashes by these disorders.

Emperor Henry represses these excesses as much as he can, and leaves the Crusaders to take their route through Hungary, where they are almost all murdered.

Young Guelph quarrels with his wife Mathilda. There is a separation between them, and this quarrel contributes a little to the re-establishment of the emperor's affairs.

1098 — Henry holds a diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he causes his son Conrad to be declared unworthy to reign.

1099 — He causes his second son Henry to be elected and crowned, never dreaming that he would

have greater cause of complaint against the younger than against the elder.

1100 — The emperor's authority is absolutely destroyed in Italy, but re-established in Germany.

1101 — The rebellious Conrad dies suddenly at Florence. Pope Paschal II., to whom the emperor's impotent lieutenants in Italy had in vain opposed antipopes, excommunicates Henry IV., after the example of his predecessors.

1102 — Countess Mathilda, having quarrelled with her husband, renews her donations to the Roman church.

Bruno, archbishop of Trier, primate to the Gauls of Germany, having been invested by the emperor, goes to Rome, where he is obliged to ask pardon for having received the investiture.

1104 — Henry IV. promises to go to the Holy Land. This was the only way at that time of conciliating the affections of his subjects.

1105 — But at the same time the archbishop of Mentz and the bishop of Constance, the pope's legates, perceiving the emperor's crusade was no more than a feint to excite his son Henry against him, release him from the excommunication which, say they, "he has incurred by being faithful to his father." The pope encourages him, and several Saxon and Bavarian noblemen are gained over.

The partisans of young Henry assemble a council and an army, and in this council wise laws are made. There they confirm what is called "God's Truce," a

monument of the hostile barbarity which prevailed in those times. This truce was an edict forbidding the noblemen and barons who were at open war to slay one another on Sundays and holidays.

Young Henry protests in the council that he is ready to submit to his father if his father will submit to the pope. The whole council cried *Kyrie eleison,* which was the prayer used in armies and councils.

Meanwhile this rebellious son engages the marquis of Austria in his party, together with the duke of Bohemia. The dukes of Bohemia sometimes took the title of king, since the pope had given them the mitre.

His party grows stronger and stronger. The emperor in vain writes to Pope Paschal, who will not listen to his proposals. A diet is summoned at Mentz in order to appease so many troubles.

Young Henry feigns a reconciliation with his father, asks pardon of him with tears in his eyes, and having allured him into the castle of Bingenheim in the neighborhood of Mentz, causes him to be apprehended and detained in prison.

1106 — The Diet of Mentz declares for this perfidious son against the unfortunate father. The emperor receives an intimation that he must send the imperial ornaments to young Henry. They are taken from him by force and carried to Mentz, where the unnatural usurper is crowned. But he protests with a sigh that it is against his own inclination, and

that he will restore the crown to his father as soon as Henry IV. shall be obedient to the pope

We find in the constitutions of Goldast a letter from the emperor to his son, in which he conjures him to allow the bishop of Liège to grant him an asylum at least. "Allow me," says he, "to continue at Liège, if not as emperor, at least as refugee. Let it not be said to my shame, or rather to yours, that I am forced to beg lodgings in Eastertime. If you grant me what I ask I shall be greatly obliged to you: if you refuse me, I will go and rather live as a poor cottager in a foreign country than wander thus from one disgrace to another in an empire which was once my own."

What a letter is this from an emperor to his son! The hypocrisy and inflexible cruelty of this young prince restored some partisans to Henry IV. The newly elected emperor in attempting to violate his father's asylum at Liège was repulsed. He went to exact the oath of allegiance in Alsace, and all the homage the Alsatians did was to beat the troops by which he was accompanied, so that he was compelled to betake himself to flight. But this slight check served only to incense him and aggravate the miseries of his father.

The emperor was protected by the bishop of Liège, the dukes of Limburg and Low Lorraine. The count of Hainault was against him. Pope Paschal wrote to the count of Hainault, "Persecute without ceasing Henry chief of the heretics, and his

favorites: you cannot offer more agreeable sacrifices to God."

Henry IV. at length being almost quite destitute of relief, and on the brink of being forced in Liège, writes to the abbot of Clugny, and seems to have meditated a retreat in that convent. He dies at Liège, August 7, overwhelmed with grief, and crying aloud, "O God of vengeance! thou wilt avenge this parricide." It was an opinion equally ancient and vain, that God fulfilled the curses of dying men, especially those of parents: an error which would be very useful if it could terrify those who deserve such curses.

The unnatural son of Henry IV. comes to Liège, orders his father's body to be dug up from the church, as the carcass of an excommunicated wretch, and to be put in a vault at Spires.

HENRY V.

NINETEENTH EMPEROR.

The lords of the great fiefs then began to fortify themselves in the right of sovereignty. They assumed the name of "*Coimperantes*," looking upon themselves as sovereigns in their fiefs and vassals of the empire, not of the emperor. They indeed received of him the vacant fiefs, but the same authority that bestowed them could not take them away. Thus in Poland the king confers the palatinates, but the republic alone has the right of destitution. In effect

one may receive through favor, but he ought not to be dispossessed but by justice. Several vassals of the empire had already entitled themselves dukes and counts, "by the grace of God."

This independence which the noblemen confirmed to themselves, and which the emperors endeavored to reduce, contributed at least as much as the popes to the troubles of the empire and the rebellion of children against their own fathers.

The power of the grandees derived growth from the impotence of the throne. This feudal government was nearly the same in France and Aragon. There was no longer any kingdom in Italy. All the noblemen there fortified themselves separately. Europe was wholly roughened with castles and covered with banditti. Barbarity and ignorance prevailed. The inhabitants of the country were slaves, the burghers of the town were despised and racked with impositions, and, some trading towns in Italy excepted, Europe from one end to the other was nothing but a theatre of misery.

The first thing done by Henry V. after his coronation is to maintain the same right of investiture against which he had taken arms to dethrone his father.

Pope Paschal having come to France goes as far as Châlons in Champagne, to confer with the German princes and bishops who come thither in the emperor's name.

That numerous embassy at first refuses to make

the first visit to the pope. At length, however, they go to his lodgings. Bruno, archbishop of Trier, supports the right of the emperor. It would have been much more natural for an archbishop to exclaim against those investitures and homages of which the bishops made such loud complaints, but private interest always overbalances that of the public.

1107-10 — These four years are almost wholly employed in wars against Hungary and part of Poland — wars without cause and without any great success on either side, which ended in the weariness of all parties and left things exactly as they were.

1111 — The emperor at the end of this war marries the daughter of Henry I., king of England, second son and successor of William the Conqueror. It is pretended that his wife had for dower a sum amounting to about nine hundred thousand pounds sterling. This was equal to above five millions of German crowns, as they are now valued, or to twenty millions of francs. All the historians fail in point of exactness in recording such facts, and the history of those times is too often a heap of exaggerations.

At length the emperor turns his thoughts upon Italy and the imperial crown, and Pope Paschal II., in order to disturb him, renews the quarrel of the investitures.

Henry V. sends ambassadors to Rome, followed by an army. In the meantime he promises by a writing, still preserved in the Vatican, to renounce

the investitures and to leave the popes in possession of all they had received from the emperors, and what is strange enough, after these submissions he promises not to kill or mutilate the sovereign pontiff.

Paschal II. by the same act promises to order the bishops to abandon to the emperor all their fiefs holding of the empire. By this agreement the bishops lost a great deal, but the pope and emperor were considerable gainers.

All the bishops of Italy and Germany, being at Rome, protesting against this agreement, Henry V., in order to appease them, proposes that they shall farm the lands of which they were formerly in possession. But the bishops will by no means consent to be farmers.

Henry V. wearied with all these contests declares he will be crowned and consecrated without any condition at all. This whole dispute passed in the church of St. Peter during mass, which being ended, the emperor ordered his guards to take the pope into custody.

There is an insurrection in Rome in favor of the pope. The emperor is obliged to make his escape, but returns immediately with troops, fights a bloody battle in Rome, kills many Romans, and especially priests, and carries off the pope and some cardinals as prisoners.

Paschal was more complaisant in prison than at the altar. He does everything that the emperor desires. At the end of two months Henry V. recon-

ducts the holy father to Rome at the head of his troops. The pope crowns him emperor, April 13, and at the same time gives him the bull by which he is confirmed in the right of the investitures. It is remarkable that in this bull he gives him no other title but that of "*dilection.*" But it is still more so, that the emperor and pope should communicate of the same host, and that the pope should say, when he gave the half of the host to the emperor, "As this part of the sacrament is divided from the other, so may the first of us two, who shall break the peace, be separated from the kingdom of Jesus Christ."

Henry V. finishes the farce by asking the pope's permission to bury his father in consecrated ground, assuring him he died penitent. Then he returns to Germany to perform the obsequies of Henry IV. without having established his power in Italy.

1112 — Paschal II. is not displeased to find his cardinals and legates in all kingdoms disavowing his condescension for Henry V.

He assembles a council in the basilic of St. John of Lateran, where, in presence of three hundred prelates, he asks pardon for his weakness, offers to resign the pontificate, cancels and annuls all he had done, and debases himself in order to exalt the Church.

1113 — Perhaps Paschal II. and his council would not have taken this step if they had not depended upon one of those revolutions which have always followed the consecration of the emperors. In effect,

there were troubles in Germany about the imperial treasury — another source of civil wars.

1114 — Lotharius, duke of Saxony, afterwards emperor, is at the head of the faction against Henry V. That emperor having occasion, like his father, to fight the Saxons, is like him defended by the house of Subia. Frederick von Stauffen, duke of Suabia, and father of the emperor Barbarossa, prevents Henry V. from sinking in these troubles.

1115 — The most dangerous enemies of Henry V. are three priests; the pope in Italy, the archbishop of Mentz, who sometimes defeats his troops, and Erland, bishop of Würzburg, who, being sent by him to the confederates, betrays his master and espouses their cause.

1116 — Henry V. being conqueror, puts Erlang, bishop of Würzburg, to the ban of the empire. The bishops of Würzburg pretended they were direct lords of all Franconia, although they were dukes of that country, and the duchy itself belonged to the imperial house.

The duchy of Franconia is given to Conrad, nephew of Henry V. At present there are no dukes, either of this great province or of Suabia.

Bishop Erlang defends himself for a long time in Würzburg, disputes the ramparts, sword in hand, and makes his escape when the town is taken.

The famous countess Mathilda dies after having renewed the donation of all her estate to the Roman church.

1117 — Emperor Henry V., disinherited by his cousin, and excommunicated by the pope, goes to Italy to take possession of Mathilda's lands, and be revenged upon his holiness. He enters Rome, and the pope flies for shelter among the Norman princes, the new vassals and protectors of the Church.

The first coronation of the emperor appearing equivocal, a second is performed, which is still more so. An archbishop of Braga, in Portugal, a Limousin by birth, called Bourdin, takes it in his head to consecrate the emperor.

1118 — After the ceremony Henry goes to secure Tuscany. Paschal II. returns to Rome with a small army belonging to the Norman princes. He dies and the army goes home again after having taken care to see itself well paid.

The cardinals of themselves elect Caïetan, Gelasus II. Cincio, consul of Rome, marquis of Frangipani, devoted to the emperor, enters the conclave, sword in hand, seizes the pope by the throat, knocks him down, and takes him prisoner. This brutal ferocity throws Rome into combustion. Henry V. goes thither. Gelasus retires to France, and the emperor gives the pontificate to his Limousin, Bourdin.

1119 — Gelasus having died, at the council of Vienne in Dauphiny, the cardinals who were present, conjointly with the Roman bishops, and even the laity, elect Guy of Burgundy, archbishop of Vienne, son of a duke of Burgundy, and of the blood royal

of France. This is not the first prince elected pope. He takes the name of Calixtus II.

Louis the Gross, king of France, takes upon himself the office of mediator in that grand affair of the investitures between the empire and the Church. A council is assembled at Rheims. The archbishop of Mentz arrives at that city with five hundred men at arms on horseback, and the count de Troye goes to receive him with a like number at the distance of half a league from town.

The emperor and the pope repair to Mouzon. They are on the very brink of agreement when a dispute upon words sets them more than ever at variance. The emperor quits Mouzon, and is excommunicated by the council.

1120-21 — As there were in this council several German bishops who had excommunicated the emperor, the other bishops of Germany will no longer allow the emperor to bestow the investitures.

1122 — At length, in a diet at Worms, the peace of the empire and of the Church is established. It is found that this long quarrel was founded on a misunderstanding. The question was not to know if the emperors conferred the bishopric, but if they could invest with the imperial fiefs those bishops who were canonically elected at their recommendation. It was decided that the investitures for the future should be conferred, not by the crook, but by the sceptre and ring. But what was much more important, the emperor, in express terms, renounces the

right of nominating to benefices those whom he was bound to invest. *Ego Henricus, Dei gratia, Romanorum imperator, concedo in omnibus ecclesiis fieri electionem & liberam consecrationem.* This was an irreparable breach in the imperial authority.

1123 — Domestic troubles in Bohemia, Hungary, Alsace, and Holland. At this miserable period there was nothing but discord in the Church, civil wars among the great, and slavery among the common people.

1124 — This is the first time that the affairs of England were intermingled with those of the empire. Henry I., king of England, and brother of the duke of Normandy, is already involved in wars with France on account of that duchy.

The emperor levies troops and advances towards the Rhine. We likewise see that even then all the German noblemen did not second the emperor in such quarrels. Several noblemen refuse to assist him against a power, which, by its situation, ought to be naturally the protector of the German lords of the great fiefs against the sovereign paramount, just as the kings of England afterwards joined the greater vassals of France.

1125 — The miseries of Europe were crowned with a pestilential disease, which attacks Henry V., who dies at Utrecht, May 22, with the reputation of an unnatural son, a hypocrite in religion, a turbulent neighbor, and a bad master.

LOTHARIUS II.

TWENTIETH EMPEROR.

1125-27 — This is a very singular era. France for the first time since the decay of Charlemagne's family, intermeddles in the election of an emperor in Germany. The famous monk Suger, abbot of St. Denis, and minister of state to Louis the Gross, goes to the Diet of Mentz with the retinue of a sovereign, to oppose at least the election of Frederick, duke of Suabia. He succeeds, either by intrigue or good fortune. The diet, being divided, chooses ten electors. These ten princes are not named. They elect Lotharius, duke of Saxony, and the lords then present elevate him upon their shoulders.

Conrad, duke of Franconia, of the house of Stauffen-Suabia, and Frederick, duke of Suabia, protest against this election. The abbot Suger was the first of the ministers of France who excited civil wars in Germany. Conrad causes himself to be proclaimed king, at Spires, but instead of supporting his faction he goes to make himself king of Lombardy at Milan. His towns in Germany are taken from him, but he acquires others in Lombardy.

1128-29 — Seven or eight wars rage at one time in Denmark, Holstein, Germany, and Flanders.

1130 — At Rome the people still pretended to elect popes in spite of the cardinals, who had reserved that right to themselves, and persisted in

refusing to acknowledge the person elected as their sovereign, though they consented to own him as their bishop. Rome was totally divided into two factions. One elects Innocent II., the other chooses the son or grandson of a Jew called Leo, who takes the name of Anacletus. The Jew's son, being rich, drives his competitor from Rome. Innocent II. takes refuge in France, which has now become the asylum of oppressed popes. This pope goes to Liège; engages Lotharius II. in his interest; crowns him emperor, together with his wife; and excommunicates his competitors.

1131-33 — Conrad of Franconia, the antiemperor, and Anacletus, the antipope, have a great faction in Italy. Emperor Lotharius and Pope Innocent go to Rome. The two popes submit to the decision of Lotharius, who decides in favor of Innocent. The antipope retires to the castle of St. Angelo, which is still in his possession. Lotharius causes himself to be consecrated by Innocent II., according to the then established customs. One of these was, that the emperor should first take an oath to preserve the pope's life and limbs. But he made the same promise to the emperor.

The pope cedes the profits of the lands of Countess Mathilda to Lotharius and his son-in-law, the duke of Bavaria, for their lives only, in consideration of an annual service to the holy see.

This was sowing wars for their successors.

To facilitate the donation of these profits, Lotha-

rius II. kissed the pope's feet, and led his mule some paces. Lotharius is supposed to be the first emperor who performed that double ceremony.

1134-35 — The two rivals of Lotharius, Conrad of Franconia, and Frederick of Suabia, being abandoned by their parties, reconcile themselves to the emperor, whom they acknowledge.

A celebrated diet is held at Magdeburg. The Greek emperor and the Venetians send thither ambassadors to demand justice against Roger, king of Sicily, and there the ambassadors of the duke of Poland take the oath of fidelity to the empire, in all probability to preserve Pomerania, of which they had made themselves masters.

1136 — Order and police are re-established in Germany. Inheritance and customs of fiefs and underfiefs are settled. Magistracy, burgomasters, mayors, and provosts are subjected to the feudal lords. Privileges of churches, bishoprics, and abbeys are confirmed.

1137 — The emperor journeys to Italy. Roger, duke of Apulia, and new king of Sicily, espoused the party of the antipope Anacletus, and threatened Rome. War is made upon Roger.

The city of Pisa was then quite important in Europe, being even above Venice and Genoa. These three trading towns furnished almost the whole West with all the delicacies of Asia. They had erected themselves quietly by liberty and commerce, while the desolation of the feudal government filled almost

every other place with misery and servitude. The Pisans of themselves equipped a fleet of forty galleys to assist the emperor, and without these he could not have stood his ground. It is reported that the first copy of the "*Digesta*" was then found in Apulia, and presented to the city of Pisa by the emperor.

Lotharius II. dies near Trent, in passing the Alps of the Tyrol.

CONRAD III.

TWENTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

1138 — Henry, duke of Bavaria, surnamed the Proud, who possessed Saxony, Meissen, Thuringia, Verona, Spoleto, and almost the whole estate of Mathilda, seized the imperial ornaments, and imagined his great power would raise him to the imperial throne, but this was the very circumstance that prevented his success.

All the noblemen unite in favor of Conrad, who had disputed the empire with Lotharius II. Henry of Bavaria, who seemed so powerful, is the third of that name who is put under the ban of the empire. He must have been still more imprudent than proud, seeing he could scarcely defend himself, notwithstanding his great power.

As the name of that prince's family was Guelph, those who espoused his party were called "Guelphs," and this name was afterwards usually given to the enemies of the emperors.

1139 — Saxony, which belonged to the Guelphs, is given to Albert of Anhalt, surnamed the Bear, marquis of Brandenburg, and Bavaria is given to the marquis of Austria. But Albert the Bear, finding himself unable to take possession of Saxony, this affair is accommodated. Saxony remains with the house of the Guelphs, and Bavaria continues with the house of Austria, but that whole disposition has since been changed.

1140 — Henry the Proud dies, leaving Henry the Lion in the cradle. His brother, Guelph, supports the war, towards the maintenance of which Roger, king of Sicily, gives him a thousand marks of silver. We see that the Norman princes have no sooner become powerful in Italy than they endeavor by all possible means to block up the emperor's road to Rome. Frederick Barbarossa, Conrad's nephew, so famous in the sequel, already signalizes himself in this war.

1140-46 — No period ever appeared more favorable for the emperors to come and establish at Rome that power which was always the object of their ambition, and always contested.

Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard, a man of an enthusiastic disposition, preached through all Italy against the temporal power of the popes and the clergy, and persuaded all those whose interest it was to be persuaded, especially the Romans.

In 1144, under the short pontificate of Lucius II., the Romans make another attempt to re-establish

the ancient republic. They augment the senate, elect as patrician a son of the antipope Peter of Lyons, called Jordani, and confer upon him the tribunitial power. Pope Lucius marches against them and is killed at the foot of the capitol.

Meanwhile, Conrad III. neglects going to Italy, either being detained by a war which the Hungarians carried on against the marquis of Austria, or because the epidemic passion for the Crusades had already taken possession of his mind.

1146 — St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, having preached the Crusade in France, goes and preaches it again in Germany, but in what language did he preach it then? He did not understand the Teutonic, and he could not speak Latin to the people. He worked abundance of miracles. Perhaps he did: but he did not add the gift of prophecy to these miracles, for he promised in the name of God that the enterprise would be crowned with the greatest success.

The emperor, together with a number of noblemen, takes the cross at Spires.

1147 — Conrad III. makes preparations for the Crusade, in the Diet of Frankfort. Before his departure he causes his son, Henry, to be crowned king of the Romans. The imperial council of Rottweil is established to try causes in the last appeal. This council was composed of twelve barons. The precedency was given as a fief to the house of Schultz,

that is, on condition of fealty, homage, and acknowledgment. This kind of fiefs begins to be introduced.

The emperor embarks upon the Danube, with the celebrated bishop of Frisingen, who has written the history of this period, together with those of Ratisbon, Passau, Basel, Metz, and Toul. Frederick Barbarossa, the marquis of Austria; Henry, duke of Bavaria, and the marquis of Montserrat are the chief of those princes by whom he was accompanied.

The Germans were the last who came to these expeditions which were at first so splendid, and soon after so unfortunate. The little kingdom of Jerusalem was already erected. The states of Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli in Syria, were formed. The counts of Joppa, and the marquises of Galilee and Sidon were created, but the greatest part of these conquests was lost.

1148 — Intemperance destroys part of the German army. Hence arose the report that the Greek emperor had poisoned the fountains, in order to destroy the Crusaders.

Conrad and Louis the Young, king of France, join their weakened armies near Laodicea. After some battles against the Mussulmans, he goes in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, instead of making himself master of Damascus, which he afterwards besieges in vain. He returns almost without an army, in vessels belonging to his brother-in-law, Manuel Comnenus, and goes ashore in the gulf of Venice, not

daring to go to Italy, much less to present himself at Rome for his coronation.

1148-49 — The loss of those prodigious armies of Crusaders in the country where Alexander had with forty thousand men subdued an empire much more powerful than that of the Arabians and Turks proves to demonstration that in these enterprises of the Christians there was some radical vice by which they were necessarily ruined; this was the feudal government, the independence of the chiefs, attended of course by disunion, disorder, and indiscretion.

The only reasonable crusade of those times was that of some Flemish and English noblemen, but chiefly consisting of a number of Germans, from the banks of the Rhine, the Main, and the Weser, who embarked for the relief of Spain, still usurped by the Moors. This was a real danger, which called aloud for assistance; and it was certainly more reasonable to assist Spain against usurpers than to go to Jerusalem, to which they had no pretension, and where there was nothing to be got. The Crusaders took Lisbon, and gave it to King Alphonso.

There was another crusade raised against the pagans of the North; for the spirit of the Christians of those times was to go and fight those who were not of their religion. The bishops of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Münster, Merseburg, and Brandenburg, together with several abbots, excited this crusade. They marched with an army of sixty thousand men

to convert the Slavs, who inhabited Pomerania, Prussia, and the coasts of the Baltic. This crusade was set on foot without consulting the emperor, and even turns against him.

Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, whom Conrad had divested of Bavaria, was at the head of the crusade against the pagans, whom, however, he soon left in tranquillity, to go and attack the Christians, and retake Bavaria.

1150 — All the fruit then that the emperor reaped from his exploits in Palestine was a civil war, which at his return he found in Germany under the name of "the holy war." He finds it very difficult, with the assistance of the Bavarians and the rest of Germany, to overcome Henry the Lion and the Guelphs.

DEATH OF CONRAD III.

1151 — Conrad III. dies at Bamberg, February 15, without having been able to receive the crown in Italy, or leave the kingdom of Germany to his son.

FREDERICK I., SURNAMED BARBAROSSA.

TWENTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

1152 — Frederick I. is elected at Frankfort by the unanimous consent of all the princes. His secretary Cinnabus, in his annals, extracts of which are still preserved, reports that on this occasion several soldiers of Lombardy gave their votes in these terms: "Your officiates (*officiati*), if you consent, Frederick shall have the force of his empire."

These officiates were then six in number. The

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Those *officiates* were then six in number. The

archbishops of Mentz, Trier, and Cologne were the three chancellors. There was the great master of the horse, the great steward, the great chamberlain, and since that time they have added the great cup-bearer. It plainly appears that those *officiati* were the first who acknowledged the elected emperor, who signified the election to the people, and took charge of the ceremonial.

The Italian noblemen were present at this election of Frederick. Nothing is more natural. At Frankfort they thought the Roman Empire was given when they gave the crown of Germany, although the king was not called emperor till after he was crowned at Rome. Barbarossa's predecessor had possessed no authority either in Rome or in Italy, and it was for the interest of the person elected that the great vassals of the Roman Empire should add their suffrages to the votes of the Germans.

The archbishop of Cologne crowns him at Aix-la-Chapelle, and all the bishops give him to understand that he does not possess the empire by right of inheritance. This advertisement was superfluous. The son of the last emperor, whom they abandoned, was a sufficient proof that the empire was not hereditary.

His reign begins with an action of great imposition. Two competitors, Sweyn and Canute, had long disputed the kingdom of Denmark. Frederick makes himself umpire and compels Canute to relinquish his right. Sweyn does homage to the empire for Den-

mark in the city of Merseburg. He takes the oath of allegiance, and is invested by the sword. Thus, in the midst of so many troubles, we see the kings of Poland, Hungary, and Denmark at the feet of the imperial throne.

1153 — The marquisate of Austria is erected into a duchy, in favor of Henry Jasamergot, who was scarcely known, and whose posterity was extinct in about one century after this period.

Henry the Lion, that duke of Saxony of the house of Guelph, obtains the investiture of Bavaria, which he had almost wholly reconquered, and becomes as zealous a partisan of Frederick Barbarossa as he had been an inveterate enemy of Conrad III.

Pope Eugenius III. sends two legates to prosecute the archbishop of Mentz, who is accused of having dissipated the revenue of his church, and the emperor permits the process.

1154 — In return for this condescension, Frederick Barbarossa repudiates his wife, Mary of Vocburg, or Vohenburg, without incurring the displeasure of Pope Adrian IV., who then filled the chair at Rome.

1155 — Frederick resumes the designs of his predecessor upon Italy. He reduces several towns of Lombardy, which wanted to become republics, but Milan resists all his power.

He, in the name of his ward, Henry, son of Conrad III., seizes the lands of Countess Mathilda, is

crowned at Pavia, and sends deputies to desire Adrian IV. to crown him in Rome.

This pope is a great example of what may be done by personal merit and good fortune. Born an Englishman, son of a mendicant, a long time a mendicant himself, strolling from country to country before he could be received as a servant among the monks in Dauphiny, at length raised to the pinnacle of greatness, he had so much the more elevation of spirit, as he had raised himself from the most abject condition. He was inclined to crown a vassal, but afraid of giving himself a master. The preceding troubles had introduced a custom that when the emperor came to be consecrated, the pope and people fortified themselves, and the emperor began by swearing that his holiness should be neither killed, mutilated, nor despoiled.

The holy see was protected, as we have seen, by the king of Sicily and Naples, who had become a dangerous neighbor, though a vassal.

The emperor and pope are aware of each other. Adrian, shut up in the fortress of Città di Castello, agrees to the coronation, as one capitulates with his enemy. A knight, armed at all points, comes and swears to him on the evangelists, that his life and limbs shall be safe, and the emperor delivers into his hands that famous Arnold of Brescia, who had excited the Roman people against the pontificate, and well nigh established the Roman republic.

Arnold is burned at Rome as a heretic, and a republican sacrificed by two sovereigns, who pretended to despotic power.

The pope visits the emperor, who, according to the new ceremonial, was to kiss his feet, hold his stirrup, and lead his white mule for the space of nine Roman paces. The emperor made no scruple to kiss the feet, but he refused to take hold of the bridle. Then the cardinals fled to the Città di Castello, as if Frederick Barbarossa had given the signal for a civil war. He was given to understand that Lotharius II. had accepted of this ceremonial of Christian humility, to which at length he submits, and mistaking the stirrup, says he had not yet learned the business of a groom.

The deputies of the Roman people, being more emboldened since so many towns in Italy had sounded the trumpet of liberty, come and say to Frederick: "We have made you our citizen and prince, stranger as you are," etc. Frederick commands them to be silent, and replies: "Charlemagne and Otho conquered you, I am your master," etc.

Frederick is consecrated emperor in St. Peter's, June 18.

The nature of the empire was so little known, and all the pretensions were so contradictory, that, on one hand, the Roman people took to arms, and a great deal of blood had been shed because the pope had crowned the emperor without the order of the senate and people; and, on the other hand, Pope

Adrian wrote in all his letters that he had conferred upon Frederick the benefice of the Roman Empire — *beneficium imperii Romani.* The word "*beneficium*" then signified a fief.

He moreover exposes in public a picture representing Lotharius II. on his knees before Alexander II. holding his hands clasped between those of the pontiff, the distinguishing mark of vassalage. The inscription of the picture was thus:

Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores:
Post, homo fit papæ; sumit, quo dante, coronam.

"The king comes to the door, previously swearing he will maintain the honors of the city; then he becomes the vassal of the pope, from whose bounty he receives the crown."

1156 — We see Frederick already very powerful in Germany. For, at his return, he caused the count palatine of the Rhine to be condemned in a diet, for misdemeanors. According to the new law of Suabia, the penalty was that the delinquent should carry a dog upon his shoulders a German mile. The archbishop of Mentz is condemned to the same ridiculous punishment, but they are spared the mortification. The emperor causes several small castles belonging to banditti to be demolished. He marries at Würzburg the daughter of a count of Burgundy, that is, of Franche-Comté, and by this match becomes direct lord of that country holding of the empire.

1157 — The Poles refuse to pay their tribute,

which was then fixed at five hundred marks of silver. Frederick marches towards Poland. The duke of Poland gives his brother as hostage, submits to the tribute, and pays the arrears.

Frederick repairs to Besançon, now become his own demesne, and there receives the pope's legates, together with ambassadors from almost all the princes. He complains to the legates, with great haughtiness, of the term "benefice," used by the court of Rome in mentioning the empire, and of the picture, in which Lotharius II. was represented as a vassal of the holy see. This haughtiness was justified by his glory and his power, as well as by his right. One of the legates having said: "If the emperor does not hold the empire of the pope, of whom then does he hold it?" the count palatine, by way of answer, would have put them to death; however, the emperor sends them back to Rome.

The rights of regality are confirmed to the archbishop of Lyons, acknowledged by the emperor, as primate of the Gauls. The archbishop's jurisdiction is, by this memorable act, extended over all the fiefs of Savoy. The original patent is still extant. The seal is in a little bull or box of gold. It is from this manner of sealing that the name of bull has been given to the constitutions.

1158 — The emperor grants the title of king to Ladislaus, duke of Bohemia, for his life. The emperor then conferred titles for life, even that of monarch, and a person was king by the emperor's

favor, although his dominions were not a kingdom. So that in these beginnings we sometimes find kings and sometimes dukes of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia.

He marches into Italy, and, at first, the count palatine, and the emperor's chancellor, who must not be confounded with the chancellor of the empire, go and receive the oaths of several towns, which oaths were conceived in these terms: "I swear I will always be faithful to my lord, the emperor Frederick, against all his enemies," etc. As he was then at variance with the pope, on account of the adventure of the legates at Besançon, these oaths seem to have been exacted against the holy see.

It does not appear that the popes were then sovereigns of the lands given by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Otho I. The emperor's commissaries exercise all the rights of sovereignty in the march of Ancona.

Adrian IV. sends new legates to the emperor at Augsburg, where he assembles his army. Frederick marches to Milan. This was already the most powerful town of Lombardy, in comparison with which Pavia and Ravenna were but inconsiderable. It had made itself free since the time of the emperor Henry V. and was enriched by the fruitfulness of its territory, but, above all things, in consequence of the liberty it enjoyed.

At the emperor's approach it sent to offer him money for the preservation of its liberty. But Frederick wanted both money and submission.

The town is besieged, and defends itself. The consuls, in a little time, capitulate. It is deprived of the privilege of coining, and all the rights of regality. The inhabitants are condemned to build a palace for the emperor, and pay nine thousand marks of silver. All the citizens take the oath of allegiance. Milan, without a duke or a count, was governed as a conquered town.

Frederick begins to build the new Lodi, on the river Adda. He enacts new laws in Italy, and begins by decreeing that every town convicted of transgressing these laws shall pay one hundred marks of gold, a marquis shall pay fifty, a count forty, and a lord of the manor twenty. He likewise ordains that no fief shall be divided, and as the vassals, in doing homage to the lords of the great fiefs, swore to serve them, without distinction, against every person whatsoever, he decrees that in these oaths the emperor shall always be excepted — a law wisely contrived, and contrary to the feudal customs of France, by which a vassal was obliged to serve his lord in war, even against the king.

The Genoese and Pisans had long ago wrested Corsica and Sardinia from the Saracens, and still disputed the possession with each other — a proof that they were very powerful. But Frederick, more powerful than they, sends commissaries to these two cities, and because he is thwarted by the Genoese, makes them pay a fine of a thousand marks of silver,

and hinders them from continuing to fortify their city.

He re-establishes order in the fiefs of Countess Mathilda, no part of which was possessed by the popes, and gives them to one Guelph, cousin to the duke of Saxony and Bavaria. His own nephew, the emperor Conrad's son, is forgotten. At this period the university of Bologna, the first of all the European universities, began to be established, and the emperor bestows privileges upon it.

1159 — Frederick I. began to be more master in Italy than Charlemagne or Otho had been. He weakens the pope by supporting the prerogatives of the Roman senators, and still more by putting troops in winter quarters in his dominions.

Adrian IV., the better to preserve his temporalities, attacks Frederick Barbarossa with spiritual weapons. The question is no longer about investitures performed with a crooked or straight staff, but about the oath, which the bishops take to the emperor. He treats that ceremony as sacrilege, and, in the meantime, inflames the people by underhand insinuations.

The Milanese take this opportunity to recover a small share of liberty. Frederick orders them to be proclaimed rebels and enemies to the empire, and, by an ordinance, their effects are given up to plunder and their persons to slavery, an ordinance which resembles an order of Attila rather than the constitution of a Christian emperor.

Adrian IV. snatches this opportunity of trouble to again demand all the fiefs of Countess Mathilda, the duchy of Spoleto, together with Sardinia and Corsica. The emperor will give him nothing. He besieges Crema, which had taken part with Milan; it is taken and plundered. Milan has some respite, and for some time enjoys the happiness of owing its liberty to its own courage.

1160 — After the death of Adrian IV. the cardinals are divided. One half elects Cardinal Rolando, who takes the name of Alexander III., a declared enemy to the emperor; the other chooses Octavian, his partisan, who calls himself Victor. Frederick Barbarossa, by virtue of his rights as emperor, summons a council at Pavia, to decide between the two competitors. Alexander refuses to acknowledge that council. Victor appears, and the council decides in his favor. The emperor kisses his feet, and leads his horse, as he had before behaved to Adrian.

Alexander III. retires to Agnana, excommunicates the emperor and absolves his subjects of their oath of allegiance. It plainly appears that the pope depended upon the assistance of the kings of Naples and Sicily.

1161 — The Milanese take advantage of these divisions. They have the courage to attack the imperial army at Carentia, a few miles from Lodi, and obtain a great victory. If the other towns of Italy had seconded Milan, this was the moment to

deliver that fine country forever from a foreign yoke.

1162 — The emperor repairs his army and his affairs. The Milanese, being blocked up, are in want of provisions, and capitulate. The consuls and eight knights come to Lodi, and lay their swords at the emperor's feet. He revokes the decree by which the citizens were condemned to servitude and their town to plunder, but as soon as he enters it, on March 27, he orders the gates, ramparts, and all the public edifices to be demolished, and the ruins to be sowed with salt. Neither Huns, Goths, nor Lombards had treated Italy in this manner.

The Genoese, who pretended to be free, come and take the oath of allegiance, and, while they protest that they will not pay annual tribute, give him twelve hundred marks of silver. They promise to equip a fleet to assist the emperor in conquering Sicily and Apulia, and Frederick gives them as a fief what is called The Riviera of Genoa, from Monaco to Porto Venere.

He marches to Bologna, which was confederate with Milan, and, though he protects the colleges, orders the walls to be dismantled. Everything submits to his power.

Meanwhile the empire makes conquests in the North. The duke of Saxony conquers Mecklenburg, the country of the Vandals, and transplants thither German colonies.

To make the triumph of Frederick Barbarossa

complete, his enemy, Pope Alexander III., flies from Italy and retires to France. Frederick goes to Besançon, in order to intimidate the king of France and detach him from Alexander's party.

It is in the zenith of his power that he summons the kings of Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary to come at his order and give their votes in a diet against a pope. Waldemar I., king of Denmark, obeys, and repairs to Besançon, where he is said to have taken the oath of fidelity only for the rest of Vandalia, which was abandoned to his conquests. Others allege he renewed the homage for Denmark. If that was the case, he was the last king of Denmark who did homage for his kingdom to the empire. By this circumstance the year 1162 becomes a very important era.

1163 — The emperor goes to Mentz, where the people, excited by the monks, had murdered the archbishop. He orders the walls of the town to be razed, and they were not rebuilt for a long time.

1164 — Erfurt, the capital of Thuringia, a town which the archbishop of Mentz pretended to be lord of since Otho I., is surrounded with walls at the very time when those of Mentz are destroyed.

The establishment of the society of Hanse towns. This union had begun by Hamburg and Lübeck, which carried on some trade in imitation of the maritime towns of Italy. They soon became useful and powerful in furnishing at least the necessaries of life to the North of Germany, and since that time

when Lübeck, which belonged to the famous Henry the Lion, by whom it was fortified, was declared an imperial town by Frederick Barbarossa, and the first of the maritime towns. When it had the privilege of coining money, that money was the best coined in all that country, where till that time none had been struck but of a very base alloy. Hence the money called "sterling," "esterling," (i. e., "easterling"), is supposed to have been derived, and hence London counted by pounds sterling when it was associated with the Hanse towns.

The same thing happens to the emperor that had happened to all his predecessors. Leagues are formed against him in Italy, while he himself is in Germany. Rome leagues with Venice by means of Alexander III. Venice, impregnable by its situation, is formidable for its wealth. It had acquired great riches in the Crusades, in which the Venetians had hitherto no share, except as dexterous merchants.

Frederick returns to Italy and ravages the Veronese, which belonged to the league. Pope Victor dies; he causes another to be consecrated by a bishop of Liège in contempt of all laws. This usurper takes the name of Paschal.

Sardinia was then governed by four bailiffs; one of these, who had amassed wealth, comes and demands the title of king from Frederick, and actually receives it. He trebles the taxes everywhere,

and returns to Germany with money enough to render him formidable.

1165 — A diet at Würzburg against Alexander III. The emperor exacts an oath from all the princes and bishops that they would not acknowledge Alexander. This diet is famous by the deputies of England, who come to give an account of the rights of the king and people against the pretensions of the Church of Rome.

Frederick, in order to make Pope Paschal more considerable, causes him to canonize Charlemagne. Aix-la-Chapelle takes the title of Capital of the Empire, though in effect it was not so. It obtains the privilege of coining money.

1166 — Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, having prodigiously augmented his dominions, the emperor is not sorry to see a confederacy in Germany against that prince. A bold and enterprising archbishop of Cologne joins with several other bishops, together with the count palatine, the count of Thuringia, and the marquis of Brandenburg. A bloody war is carried on against Henry the Lion. The emperor leaves them to fight it out, and repairs again to Italy.

1167 — The Pisans and Genoese plead at Lodi before the emperor for the possession of Sardinia, which neither obtains.

Frederick goes and lays the Pentapolis under contribution, although it had been solemnly ceded to the

popes by so many emperors, and was incontestably the patrimony of the Church.

The league between Venice and Rome, and the hatred inspired by Frederick's despotic power, engage Cremona, Bergamo, Mantua, Ferrara, and other towns, to unite with the Milanese. All these towns and the Romans took arms at the same time.

The Romans attack part of the imperial army near Tusculum. It was commanded by an archbishop of Mentz, very famous in those days, called Christian, and by the archbishop of Cologne. It was a strange spectacle to see these two priests thundering out a German song to animate their troops to battle.

But what strongly denoted the decay of Rome was the fact that the Romans were entirely defeated, though ten times more numerous than the Germans.

Frederick then marches from Ancona to Rome, which he attacks. He burns the town of Leonini, and the church of St. Peter is almost consumed.

Pope Alexander flies to Beneventum. The emperor causes himself to be crowned with the empress Beatrice, by his antipope Paschal, in the ruins of St. Peter.

Thence Frederick marches back with great expedition against the confederate towns. The plague by which his army is desolated for some time, contributes to their safety. The German troops, though victorious over the Romans, were often vanquished by intemperance and the heat of the climate.

1168 — Alexander III. finds the secret of engaging at once in his party Emanuel, emperor of the Greeks, and William, king of Sicily, natural enemy of the Greeks, so much did they think it was for their common interest to unite against Barbarossa.

In effect, these two powers send money and some troops to the pope. The emperor, at the head of an army very much diminished, sees the Milanese rebuild their walls under his very nose, and almost all Lombardy in a conspiracy against him. He retires towards the country of Morienne. The Milanese, emboldened, pursue him to the mountains. He escapes with great difficulty and retreats to Alsace, while he is excommunicated by the pope.

Italy breathes again in consequence of his retreat. The Milanese fortify themselves, and build, at the foot of the Alps, the town of Alexandria, in honor of the pope.

This year Lüneburg begins to be a town.

The bishop of Würzburg obtains civil jurisdiction in the duchy of Franconia. It was in consequence of this grant that his successors have had the direction of the circle of that name.

Guelph, cousin-german of the famous Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, on his deathbed, leaves to the emperor the duchy of Spoleto, and the marquisate of Tuscany, with his right to Sardinia, a country claimed by so many competitors, abandoned to himself and its bailiffs, one of whom called himself king.

1169 — Frederick causes his eldest son, Henry, to be elected king of the Romans, while he himself is on the brink of losing Rome and Italy forever.

Some months after, he causes his second son, Frederick, to be elected duke of Germany, and secures to him the duchy of Suabia. Foreign authors have imagined that Frederick had given all Germany to this son, but it was no more than ancient Germany, properly so called. There was no other king of Germany than the emperor.

1170 — Frederick is no longer recognizable. Instead of going to fight, he negotiates with the pope. His armies and his treasure were then diminished.

The Danes take Stettin. Henry the Lion, instead of assisting the emperor to recover Italy, takes the cross with his Saxon knights, in order to go and fight in Palestine.

1171 — Henry the Lion, finding a truce established in Asia, returns by the way of Egypt. The sultan had a mind to astonish Europe by his magnificence and generosity. He loads the duke of Saxony and Bavaria with presents, and among other things, gives him fifteen hundred Arabian horses.

1174 — At length the emperor convenes a diet at Worms, and demands assistance from Germany to place Italy under his power.

He begins by sending a small army commanded by that same archbishop of Mentz who had defeated the Romans.

The towns of Lombardy were confederated, but jealous one of another. Lucca was a mortal enemy of Pisa, Genoa hated Pisa and Florence, and by these divisions Italy was lost.

Christian, archbishop of Mentz, dexterously succeeds in detaching the Venetians from the league, but Milan, Pavia, Florence, Cremona, Parma, and Bologna are unshaken, and Rome supports them.

Meanwhile Frederick is obliged to go and appease the troubles in Bohemia, where he deposes Ladislaus, and gives the regency to the son of that prince. He could not be more absolute than he was in Germany, or more impotent than he was at that very time on the other side of the Alps.

1174 — At length he passes Mount Cenis, besieges Alexandria, which was built in his absence, and the name of which was odious to him, and begins by signifying to the inhabitants that, if they would have the presumption to defend themselves, he would spare neither age nor sex.

1175 — The Alexandrians, assisted by the confederate towns, make a sally upon the Imperialists, whom they defeat, in imitation of the Milanese. The emperor's disgrace is completed by his being abandoned by Henry the Lion, who retires with his Saxons, very ill disposed towards Barbarossa, who kept for himself the lands of Mathilda.

Italy then seemed to be upon the eve of being freed forever.

1176 — Frederick receives reinforcements from

Germany. The archbishop of Mentz is at the other end of Italy, in the march of Ancona, with his troops.

The war is pushed with great vivacity on both sides. The Milanese infantry, armed with pikes, defeats the whole imperial household troops. Frederick escapes with difficulty from the pursuit of the conquerors; he conceals himself and at length takes shelter in Pavia.

This victory was the signal of the liberty of the Italians for several years; they could then be hurt by none but themselves. The haughty Frederick anticipates at last, and solicits Pope Alexander, who had retired long ago to Agnana, equally afraid of the Romans, who would have no master, and of the emperor, who wanted to be master.

Frederick offers him his assistance to retrieve his authority in Rome, to restore the patrimony of St. Peter, and give him part of the lands of Countess Mathilda. A congress is assembled at Bologna.

1177 — The pope causes the congress to be transferred to Venice, where he arrives in the ships of the king of Sicily. The ambassadors of Sicily and the deputies of the Lombard towns are the first who go thither. Christian, archbishop of Mentz, goes to conclude the peace.

It is difficult to explain how that peace, which should have secured the repose of the popes and the liberty of the Italians, was no more than a truce for six years with the Lombard towns, and of fifteen with Sicily. There was no question about

the lands of the countess Mathilde, which had been the basis of the treaty.

Everything being concluded, the emperor repairs to Venice. The duke conducts him in his gondola to St. Mark. The pope waited for him at the gate, with the tiara upon his head. The emperor, without his cloak, conducts him to the chair, with a beadle's staff in his hand. The pope preaches in Latin, which Frederick did not understand. After the sermon, the emperor comes and kisses the pope's feet, takes the communion from his hand, leads his mule in the square of St. Mark, when he comes from church, and Alexander III. cries aloud: "It hath pleased God that an old man and a priest should triumph over a powerful and terrible emperor." All Italy looks upon Alexander III. as its deliverer and father.

The peace was sworn upon the evangelists by twelve princes of the empire. These treaties were hardly ever written at that time. There were few clauses. The oaths were sufficient. Few of the German princes could read or sign their names, and the pen was seldom used but at Rome. This period resembles those savage times called heroic.

Nevertheless, they exact from the emperor a particular act, sealed with his own seal, by which he promises not to disturb the towns of Italy for six years.

1178 — How dared Frederick Barbarossa, after that, pass through Milan, the people of which had defeated him, after he had treated them as slaves?

Thither he went, however, on his return to Germany.

Other troubles harassed that vast, warlike, powerful, and unfortunate country, in which there was not then one town comparable to any of the middling towns of Italy.

Henry the Lion, master of Saxony and Bavaria, still made war upon several bishops, as the emperor had warred against the pope. He sank like him, and even by means of the emperor himself.

The archbishop of Cologne, assisted by one-half of Westphalia, the archbishop of Magdeburg, and a bishop of Halberstadt, were oppressed by Henry the Lion, and did him all the mischief in their power. Almost all Germany embraced their party.

1179 — Henry the Lion is the fourth duke of Bavaria that was put to the ban of the empire in the Diet of Goslar. A powerful army was required to execute this decree. That prince was more powerful than the emperor. He at that time commanded from Lübeck to the middle of Westphalia. He had besides Bavaria, Styria, and Carinthia. His enemy, the archbishop of Cologne, is charged with the execution of the ban.

Among the vassals of the empire who bring troops to the archbishop of Cologne, we see one Philip, count of Flanders, as well as a count of Hainault, a duke of Brabant, and others. This circumstance might make one believe that what is properly called Flanders always considered itself as a member of

the empire, although a part of France. Such uncertainty attends the feudal right.

Duke Henry defends himself in Saxony, takes Thuringia and Hesse, and defeats the army of the archbishop.

The greatest part of Germany is ravaged by that civil war, the natural effect of the feudal government. It is even strange that it did not oftener produce this effect.

1180 — After various successes, the emperor holds a diet in the castle of Gelnhausen, near the Rhine. There the proscription of Henry the Lion is renewed and confirmed. There Frederick gives Saxony to Bernhard of Anhalt, son of Albert the Bear, marquis of Brandenburg. He gives him likewise part of Westphalia. The house of Anhalt must then have become the most powerful in Germany.

Bavaria is granted to Otho, count of Wittelsbach, chief of the emperor's court of justice. From this Otho Wittelsbach are descended the two electoral houses of Bavaria, which after so many misfortunes still exist. They owe their greatness to Frederick Barbarossa.

As soon as those noblemen were invested, each falls upon Henry the Lion, and the emperor puts himself at the head of the army.

1181 — They take from Duke Henry, Lüneburg, of which he was master; they attack Lübeck, of which he was protector, and Waldemar, king of Denmark, assists the emperor in the siege.

Lübeck, which was already rich, dreading to fall under the power of Denmark, surrenders to the emperor, who declares it an imperial town, capital of the towns upon the Baltic, with permission to coin money.

Duke Henry, being no longer able to resist, goes and throws himself at the feet of the emperor, who promises to maintain him in possession of Brunswick and Lüneburg, the remains of so many dominions which are taken from him.

Henry the Lion goes to London with his wife, to his father-in-law, King Henry II. She bears him a son called Otho, who was afterwards emperor, under the name of Otho IV., and from a brother of this Otho IV. are descended the princes who now reign in England, so that the dukes of Brunswick, the kings of England, and the dukes of Modena, are all derived from one common origin, and that origin is Italian.

1182 — Germany is then quiet. Frederick abolishes several barbarous customs; among others, that of plundering the dead, a horrible practice which all the citizens of the towns exercised at the decease of a burgher, at the expense of his heirs, and which always produced bloody quarrels, though movables at that time were of small importance.

All the cities of Lombardy enjoy a profound peace, and display new life.

The Romans still persist in the notion of with-

drawing themselves from the power of the popes, as well as from that of the emperors. They expel from Rome Pope Lucius III., the successor of Alexander.

The same Christian, archbishop of Mentz, still the emperor's general, marches with an army to the assistance of the pope, but dies at Tusculum.

The senate lords it in Rome. Some clerks, supposed to be spies from Pope Lucius III., are sent back to him without their eyes, a piece of inhumanity unworthy of the Roman name.

1183 — Frederick I. declares Ratisbon an imperial town. He detaches Tyrol from Bavaria, and likewise dismembers it of Styria, which he erects into a duchy.

A celebrated congress is held at Placentia, April 30, between the emperor's commissaries and the deputies of all the towns in Lombardy. Even those of Venice were present. They agree that the emperor may exact the oath of fidelity from his vassals of Italy, and that they are obliged to march to his assistance, in case he should be attacked in his journey to Rome, which is called the Roman expedition.

They stipulate that the towns and the vassals shall furnish the emperor in his passage with nothing but ordinary forage and provisions for the month.

The emperor grants them the right of having troops, fortifications, and tribunals, without appeal, in causes to the amount of fifty marks of silver, and

that no cause shall ever be reheard in Germany. If in these towns the bishop has the title of count, he shall preserve the right of electing consuls in his episcopal town, and if the bishop is not in possession of that right, it is reserved to the emperor.

This treaty, which made Italy free under a chief, has been long considered by the Italians as the foundation of their public right.

The marquis of Malaspina and the counts of Crema are therein specially named, and the emperor contracts with them as with the other towns. All the lords of the fiefs in general are therein comprehended.

In all probability the deputies of Venice signed this treaty only for the fiefs they possessed on the continent; as for the city of Venice, it would not put its liberty and independence upon any such compromise.

1184 — A great diet is convened at Mentz, where the emperor again causes his son Henry to be acknowledged king of the Romans.

He knights his two sons, Henry and Frederick; he is the first emperor who thus knighted his sons with the ceremonies then used. The new knight watched his arms; afterwards he was put in the bath; then he came to receive the kiss and cuff in a tunic; his spurs were buckled on by knights; he dedicated his sword to God and the saints; he was clothed with a loose robe; but, what was the most

whimsical part of the farce, was his being served at dinner without being allowed to eat or drink.

The emperor goes to Verona, whither Lucius III. had retired on his expulsion from Rome, and there a small council was held. The question was not to re-establish Lucius at Rome. The subject of debate was the great quarrel about the lands of the countess Mathilda, and nothing was agreed upon. The pope likewise refused to crown young Henry emperor.

The emperor goes and causes him to be crowned king of Italy at Milan, to which place the iron crown was removed from Monza.

1185 — The pope, who had already quarrelled with the Romans, is imprudent enough to quarrel with the emperor, upon the subject of that dangerous inheritance of Mathilda.

A king of Sardinia commands the troops of Frederick. The king of Sardinia is the son of that bailiff who had bought the title of king. He seizes some towns, of which the popes were still in possession. Lucius III., almost stripped of everything, dies at Verona, and Frederick, though the pope's conqueror, cannot be sovereign in Rome.

1186 — The emperor, at Milan, on February 6, marries his son, King Henry, to Constance of Sicily, daughter of Roger II., king of Naples and Sicily, and granddaughter of Roger I. of that name. She was presumptive heiress of that fine kingdom, and this marriage was productive of the most tedious and dreadful misfortunes.

This year ought to be famous in Germany for the custom which one Bertrand, bishop of Metz introduced, of having archives in every town to register the deeds and writings of private estates. Before that time, everything was proved by evidence only, and almost all disputes were decided by combat.

1187 — Pomerania, which after having belonged to the Poles, became a vassal of the empire, and paid a slight tribute, is subdued by Canute, king of Denmark, and becomes a vassal to the Danes. Schleswig, formerly a holding of the empire, becomes a duchy of Denmark. Thus did that kingdom, which itself formerly was held by Germany, deprive the empire at once of two provinces.

Frederick Barbarossa, heretofore so great and powerful, had nothing now but the shadow of authority in Italy, and saw the power of Germany greatly diminished. He retrieves his reputation, in preserving the crown of Bohemia to a duke or king whom his subjects had deposed.

The Genoese build a fort at Monaco, and acquire Gavi.

Great troubles occur in Savoy. The emperor Frederick declares against the count of Savoy, detaches several fiefs from that country, among others, the bishoprics of Turin and Geneva. The bishops of these towns become noblemen of the empire. Hence proceed perpetual quarrels between the bishops and counts of Geneva.

1188 — Saladin, the greatest man of his time, having retaken Jerusalem from the Christians, Pope Clement III. causes a new Crusade to be preached over all Europe.

The zeal of the Germans took fire; we can scarcely conceive the motives that determined the emperor Frederick to march towards Palestine, and at the age of sixty-eight renew an enterprise concerning which a wise prince should have been by this time disabused. What strongly marks the character of the times was that he sends a count of the empire to Saladin to demand in a formal manner, Jerusalem and the true cross.

We here see a remarkable example of the spirit of the times. It was to be feared that Henry the Lion, in the emperor's absence, would make an attempt to recover the dominions of which he had been despoiled. He is obliged to swear that he will make no attempt during the holy war. He swears, and his oath is believed.

1189 — Frederick Barbarossa with his son, Frederick, duke of Suabia, marches through Austria and Hungary with above a hundred thousand Crusaders. If he could have led such an army of volunteers to Rome, he would have been emperor indeed. The first enemies he finds are the Christian Greeks of the empire of Constantinople. The Greek emperor and the Crusaders had always found subject of complaint against each other.

The emperor of Constantinople was Isaac An-

gelus. He refuses to give the title of emperor to Frederick, whom he regards as king of Germany only, and he signifies to him that if he had a mind to obtain a passage he must give hostages. We see in the constitutions of Goldast the letters of these two emperors. Isaac Angelus gives Frederick no other title than that of advocate of the Roman Church. Frederick by way of answer, calls Angelus a dog. Yet after this, we are astonished at the epithets given to one another by Homer's heroes in times still more heroic!

1190 — Frederick, having opened the passage sword in hand, defeats the sultan of Iconium, takes his city, passes Mount Taurus, and dies of the plague after his victory, leaving a reputation famous for inequality and greatness, and a memory much more dear to Germany than to Italy.

He is said to have been buried in Tyre, but we do not really know what place contains the ashes of an emperor who made so much noise in his lifetime. His success in Asia must have been much less solid than shining; for his son, Frederick of Suabia, had no more than an army of about seven or eight thousand fighting men left out of above a hundred thousand who arrived in those parts.

The son soon died of the plague like his father; and nobody remained in Asia but Leopold, duke of Austria, with a few knights. Thus terminated every crusade.

HENRY VI.

TWENTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1190 — Henry VI., already twice acknowledged and crowned during his father's life, does not renew that ceremony, but reigns in full right and power.

Henry the Lion, the old duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who possessed so many towns, had very little regarded the oath he took to abstain from all attempts to recover his fortune. He had already entered Holstein, and his party was espoused by the bishops, particularly the bishop of Bremen.

Henry VI. gives him battle near Verdun, and is conqueror. At last peace is made with that prince, who was so often proscribed and so often in arms. He is left in possession of Brunswick after it is dismantled. He divides with the count of Holstein the title of Lord of Lübeck, which still continues a free town under its lords.

The emperor Henry VI., having secured Germany by this victory and peace, turns his thoughts towards Italy. There he might have been more powerful than Charlemagne and the Othos, as being direct possessor of the lands of Mathilda, king of Naples, in right of his wife, and lord paramount of all the rest.

1191 — He was obliged to look after this inheritance of Naples and Sicily. The noblemen of the country were not at all desirous of seeing that kingdom, which had become flourishing in so little a

time, a subjected province of Germany. The blood of those French gentlemen, who had, by their courage become their kings and countrymen, was very dear to him. They elected Tancred, son of Prince Roger, and grandson of their good king Roger. This prince Tancred was not born of a marriage deemed legitimate. But how many bastards before him have inherited the greatest kingdoms? Besides, the will of the people and election seem the first of all rights.

The emperor treats with the Genoese about furnishing a fleet with which he may go and dispute Apulia and Sicily. Merchants are able to do that which the emperor could not do of himself. He confirms the privileges of the towns of Lombardy, to engage them in his favor. He behaves respectfully to Pope Celestine III., an old man turned fourscore, who, though not a priest, had been elected.

The ceremony of the exaltation of popes in those days, was performed in this manner: As soon as they were nominated, they were clothed with a red cape. They were conducted to a stone pulpit through which there was a hole, called *Stercorarium;* then to a pulpit of porphyry, where they were presented with two keys, that of the church of the Lateran, and that of the palace, the origin of the pope's arms; thence to a third pulpit, where they were presented with a silken girdle, and a purse with twelve stones, in imitation of the ephod of the high priest of the Jews. It is not known at what

period these customs began. Thus was Celestin exalted before he was a priest.

On the emperor's arrival at Rome, the pope caused himself to be ordained priest on Easter-eve; next day he is consecrated bishop, and the day after consecrates Henry VI. with the empress Constance.

Roger de Hoveden, an Englishman, is the only author who relates that the pope kicked down the crown with which the emperor was to be adorned, and that it was set up again by the cardinals. He mistakes an accident for a ceremony. It has been likewise supposed to be a mark of pride, equally brutal and ridiculous. Either the pope doted, or the adventure is not true.

The emperor, in order to render the pope favorable to him in his expedition of Naples and Sicily, restores to him the ancient town of Tusculum. The pope gives it to the Roman people, whose municipal government still subsisted. The Romans demolished it entirely; in this particular they seem to have adopted the destructive spirit of the Goths and Heruli who settled among them.

Nevertheless, old Celestine III., as paramount of Naples and Sicily, dreading a powerful vassal, who would not yield obedience, forbids the emperor to attempt that conquest, a prohibition as ridiculous as kicking the crown, seeing he could not hinder the emperor from marching to Naples.

Diseases always destroy the German troops in hot

and fruitful countries. One half of the imperial army dies upon the way to Naples.

Constance, the emperor's wife, is at Salerno delivered to King Tancred, who generously sends her back to her husband.

1192 — The emperor postpones his enterprise against Naples and Sicily, and goes to Worms. He makes Conrad, one of his brothers, duke of Suabia. He gives to Philip, another brother, who was afterwards emperor, the duchy of Spoleto, which he takes from the house of the Guelphs.

The establishment of the knights of the Teutonic order, destined at first for the service of the sick in Palestine, and since become conquerors. The first house they have in Germany is built at Coblentz.

Henry the Lion renews his pretensions, and resumes his arms. He makes no attempt upon Saxony or Bavaria, but falls again upon Holstein, and loses all that he had left elsewhere.

1193 — At that time Saladin the Great drove all the Christians from Syria. Richard *Cœur de Lion,* king of England, after having performed exploits equally admirable and ineffectual, returns like the rest. He was upon bad terms with the emperor, and upon worse with Leopold, duke of Austria, on account of a childish quarrel about a point of honor, which had happened between them in the unfortunate wars of the East. He passes through the duke's territories, and that prince puts him in irons, contrary to the oath of all the Crusaders, contrary to

the respect due to royalty, and contrary to the honor and law of nations.

The duke of Austria delivers his prisoner to the emperor. Eleonora, wife of Richard *Cœur de Lion,* finding herself unable to avenge, offers to ransom her husband. This ransom is said to have amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver. That is about two millions of German crowns; and considering the scarcity of money and the price of provisions, that sum would be equivalent to forty millions of crowns in our time. Historians perhaps have taken one hundred and fifty thousand marks (*marcas*), for a hundred and fifty thousand marks which were no more than half livres. These mistakes are but too common.

Whatever the ransom was, the emperor Henry VI., who had no other right to it than that of banditti, received it as basely as he had unjustly retained Richard. It is likewise said that he compelled him to do homage for the kingdom of England. Vain homage indeed! Richard would have been far from deserving the surname of *Cœur de Lion* if he had stooped to such abject submission.

A bishop of Prague is made duke or king of Bohemia. He purchases his investiture from Henry VI. for a sum of money.

Henry the Lion, now seventy years of age, marries his son, who bears the title of Count of Brunswick, to Agnes, daughter of Conrad, count palatine, the emperor's uncle. Agnes loved the count of

Brunswick; this marriage, to which the emperor consents, reconciles him to the old duke, who dies soon after, leaving Brunswick at least to his descendants.

1194 — It is probable that the emperor Henry VI. ransomed King Richard, and invested the episcopal king of Bohemia on purpose to have wherewithal to conquer Naples and Sicily. Tancred, his competitor, dies. The people choose his son William, though an infant, in his stead; a plain proof that it was not so much Tancred as the nation which disputed the throne of Naples with the emperor.

The Genoese furnish Henry with the fleet they had promised, and to this the Pisans add twelve galleys. The emperor, with these forces furnished by the Italians to enslave Italy, appears before Naples, which surrenders, and while he is besieging Palermo and Catanta in Sicily, Tancred's widow, being shut up in Salerno, capitulates, and yields up the two kingdoms on condition that her son, William, shall have the principality of Tarentum. Thus, a hundred years after Robert and Roger had conquered Sicily, the fruit of the toils of the French knights falls into the hands of the house of Suabia.

The Genoese demand of the emperor the execution of the treaty he had made with them; the restitution of some lands, as therein stipulated, and the confirmation of their privileges in Sicily granted by King Roger. Henry VI. answers to this effect: "When you shall have convinced me that you are

really free, and do not owe me a fleet in quality of vassals, I will keep the promise I have made." Then, joining the most atrocious cruelty to perfidy and ingratitude, he orders Tancred's body to be dug up and decapitated by the hands of the hangman. He orders William, the son of Tancred, to be castrated and sent prisoner to Gaire, where his eyes are put out. The queen, his mother, and her daughters are conducted to Germany and shut up in a convent of Alsace. Henry carries off part of the treasure which had been amassed by the kings. And mankind allow such men to rule them!

1195 — Henry of Brunswick, son of the Lion, obtains the palatinate after the death of the palatine Conrad, his father-in-law.

A new Crusade is published at Worms. Henry VI. promises to go and fight for Jesus Christ.

1196 — The zeal of those expeditions increased by misfortune, just as religions have been strengthened by persecution. A sister of Philip Augustus, king of France, widow of Bela, king of Hungary, puts herself at the head of the German Crusaders, and goes to Palestine to experience the fate of all those who had gone before her. Henry VI. orders another part of the Crusaders' army to march into Italy, where it could be more useful to him than at Jerusalem.

1197 — This is one of the most curious and interesting points of history. The great Belgic chronicle relates that Henry not only caused his son, Frederick

II., a child in the cradle, to be elected by fifty-two noblemen or bishops, but likewise declared the empire hereditary, and decreed that Naples and Sicily should be incorporated forever with the empire. If Henry VI. could make such laws, he made them without doubt; and he was formidable enough to make them without contradiction. Certain it is, his epitaph at Panorma purports that he reunited Sicily to the empire; but the popes soon rendered that reunion ineffectual, and at his death it plainly appeared that the right of election was still dear to the noblemen of Germany.

Meanwhile Henry VI. marches to Naples overland. All the noblemen of that country were incensed against him and a general insurrection was to be feared. He strips them of their fiefs, which he bestows upon the Germans or Italians of his own party. Despair forms the conspiracy which the emperor wanted to prevent. One Count Jordani, of the house of the Norman princes, puts himself at the head of the people. He is delivered up to the emperor, who causes him to be put to death by a torture which one would imagine an imitation of the fabulous tyrants of antiquity. He is tied naked on a chair of red-hot iron, and crowned with a circle of the same metal burning hot, nailed to his head.

1198 — Then the emperor allows the rest of the German Crusaders to depart. They land in Cyprus. The bishop of Würzburg, by whom they are conducted, gives the crown of Cyprus to Emeri de Lus-

ignan, who chose rather to be a vassal of the German than of the Greek empire.

This same Emeri de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, marries Isabella, daughter of the last king of Jerusalem, and hence comes the title of king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, which several sovereigns have disputed in Europe.

The German Crusaders meet with various fortunes in Asia. In the meantime Henry VI. remains in Sicily with a small number of troops, and this security is the cause of his ruin. They conspire at Naples and in Sicily against the tyrant. His own wife, Constance, is the soul of the conspiracy. They betake themselves to arms on all hands. Constance forsakes her cruel husband and puts herself at the head of the conspirators. All the Germans found in Sicily are murdered. This is the first stroke of the Sicilian Vespers, afterwards tolled under Charles of France. Henry is fain to capitulate to his wife: he dies, and, it is said, of poison which his wife gave him, a crime perhaps excusable in a woman who avenged her family and country, if poisoning, and especially poisoning a husband, can ever be justified.

PHILIP I.

TWENTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

1198 — At first the noblemen and bishops assembled at Arnsberg, in Thuringia, grant the administration of Germany to Philip, duke of Suabia, uncle

of Frederick II., a minor, who had been already acknowledged as king of the Romans. Thus the true emperor was Frederick II., but other noblemen, being incensed to see an elective empire become hereditary, choose another king at Cologne, and elect the least powerful, in order to be powerful under his name. This pretended king or emperor, called Bertold, duke of a small part of Switzerland, soon renounced the vain honor which he could not maintain. Then the assembly of Cologne elect Otho, duke of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion. The electors were the duke of Lorraine, a count of Kuke, the archbishop of Cologne, the bishops of Minden, Paderborn, the abbot of Corbie, and two other abbots, who were Benedictine monks.

Philip must likewise be nominated emperor, and is elected at Erfurt. Here are four emperors in one year, but not one of them an emperor indeed.

Otho of Brunswick was in England, and Richard, king of England, who had been so unworthily treated by Henry VI. and was justly the enemy of the house of Suabia, espoused the party of Brunswick; of consequence Philip Augustus, king of France, declares for the other emperor Philip.

Here was another opportunity for the towns of Italy to shake off the German yoke. They became daily more and more powerful, but even that power creates divisions among them. Some held for Otho of Brunswick, and others for Philip of Suabia. Pope Innocent III. remains neutral between the competi-

tors. Germany suffers all the mischiefs of a civil war.

1199-1200 — In these intestine troubles of Germany nothing is seen but change of party, agreements made and infringed, and weakness on all sides. Nevertheless Germany is still called the Roman Empire.

The empress Constance stays in Sicily with her son, Prince Frederick. There she was in peace; there she was regent, and nothing could more plainly prove that she had conspired against her husband, Henry VI., than her retaining, in obedience to her son, those very people who had taken arms against the father. Naples and Sicily, in young Frederick, loved the son of Constance, and the blood of their own kings. They did not even regard this Frederick II. as the son of Henry VI., and, in all probability, he really was not; seeing his mother, when she demanded for him the investiture of Naples and Sicily of Pope Celestine III. had been obliged to swear that Henry VI. was his father.

The famous Pope Innocent III., son of a count of Segni, having taken possession of the papal chair, a new investiture was required. Here begins a very singular quarrel, which, after the lapse of above five hundred years, continues still undetermined.

We have seen those knights of Normandy, who became princes and kings of Naples and Sicily, holding at first of the emperors, and afterwards doing homage to the pope. When Roger, as yet no more

than count of Sicily, gave new laws to that island, which he at one time won from the Mahometans and Greeks, when he restored so many churches to the Roman communion, Pope Urban II. solemnly granted him the power of the legates *a latere*, and of legates born of the holy see. These legates judged all ecclesiastical causes in the last appeal, conferred benefices, and levied tithes. Since that time the kings of Sicily were in fact legates and vicars of the holy see, and really popes in their own kingdom. They had in reality the power of the two swords. This sole privilege, which so many kings might have arrogated to themselves, was nowhere known but in Sicily. The successors of Pope Urban II. had confirmed this prerogative, either by good-will or compulsion. Celestine III. had not contested it, but Innocent III. opposed it; treated the legation of the kings of Sicily as having been surreptitiously obtained, and demanded that Constance would renounce it in the name of her son, and do liege, pure and simple homage for Sicily.

Constance dies before this order is obeyed, and leaves to the pope the tutelage of king and kingdom.

1201 — Innocent III. will not own Philip for emperor, but acknowledges Otho, to whom he writes: "By the authority of God derived to us, we receive you, and order you to be obeyed as king of the Romans; and, after the usual preliminaries, we will give you the imperial crown."

Philip Augustus, king of France, partisan of Philip of Suabia, and enemy to Otho, writes to the pope in favor of Philip; and Innocent III. answers: "Either Philip must lose the empire, or I lose the pontificate."

1202 — Innocent III. publishes a new Crusade, in which the Germans have no concern. It was in this crusade that the Christians of the West took Constantinople, instead of assisting the Holy Land; it was this that extended the power and dominions of Venice.

1203 — The northern parts of Germany become weak in these troubles. The Danes make themselves masters of Vandalia, which is part of Russia and Pomerania. It is difficult to ascertain its limits. Were there any limits then in those barbarous countries! Holstein, annexed to Denmark, no longer acknowledged the empire.

1204 — The duke of Brabant acknowledges Philip for emperor, and does him homage.

1205 — Several noblemen follow that example. Philip is consecrated at Aix by the archbishop of Cologne. The civil war continues in Germany.

1206 — Otho, being defeated by Philip near Cologne, flies for refuge to England. Then the pope consents to abandon him. He promises to take off Philip's excommunication, incurred by every prince who calls himself emperor, without the permission of the holy see: he will acknowledge him as lawful emperor, provided he will give his sister in marriage

to a nephew of his holiness, and bestow upon her, by way of dower, the duchy of Spoleto, Tuscany, and the march of Ancona. These are strange proposals: the march of Ancona properly belonged to the holy see. Philip rejects the pope's proposal, choosing rather to be excommunicated than to part with such a dower: nevertheless, by releasing an archbishop of Cologne, who was his prisoner, he obtains his absolution without making the match.

1207 — Otho returns from England to Germany, where he appears seemingly without partisans, though doubtless he must have had private friends, seeing he did return.

1208 — Count Otho, who was palatine in Bavaria, assassinates the emperor at Bamberg, and makes his escape very easily.

OTHO IV.

TWENTY-FIFTH EMPEROR.

Otho, in order to strengthen his interest, and unite the factions, marries Beatrice, daughter of the murdered emperor.

Beatrice demands vengeance at Frankfort for her father's death. The Diet puts the assassin under the ban of the empire. Count Papenheim does more: some time after he murders the emperor's murderer.

1209 — Otho IV., still more to corroborate his interest, confirms the rights and privileges of the Italian towns, and even acknowledges those which

[illegible] of his holiness, and bestow upon her, [illegible] of dower, the duchy of Spoleto, Tuscany, [illegible] known. These are strange pro-[illegible] the lands of Ancona properly belonged to [illegible] Philip rejects the pope's proposal, [illegible] to be excommunicated than to part [illegible] a dower; nevertheless, by releasing an [illegible] of Cologne, who was his prisoner, he [illegible] without making the match.

[illegible] — Otho returns from England to Germany, [illegible] apparently without partisans, [illegible] doubtless he must have had private friends, [illegible] he did return.

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"HE MURDERS THE EMPEROR'S MURDERER"

OTHO IV.

FORTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

Otho, in order to strengthen his interest, and [illegible] the famous [illegible] Beatrice, daughter of the [illegible] emperor.

Beatrice demands vengeance at Frankfort for her father's death. The Diet puts the assassin under the ban of the empire. Count Papenheim does more: [illegible] time after he murders the emperor's murderer.

1209 — Otho IV., still more to corroborate his [illegible], confirms the rights and privileges of the Italian towns, and even acknowledges those which

had been arrogated by the popes. He writes to Innocent III: "We will yield you that obedience which our predecessors have yielded to yours." He leaves him in possession of the countries which the pontiff had already recovered—namely, Viterbo, Orvieto, and Perusia. He promises him all the famous inheritance of Mathilda, and he cedes to him the territorial superiority — that is, the supremacy and dependence of Naples and Sicily.

1210 — No greater harmony could possibly appear; but scarcely is he crowned at Rome, when he makes war upon the pope for these very towns.

He had left to the pope the right paramount and charge of Naples and Sicily; and he goes to make himself master of Apulia, the inheritance of young Frederick, king of the Romans, who was stripped at once of the empire and his mother's inheritance.

1211 — Innocent III. can do no less than excommunicate Otho. Excommunication is a mere trifle against an established prince; but a very serious affair against a prince who has enemies.

The dukes of Bavaria and Austria, and the landgrave of Thuringia resolve to dethrone him. The archbishop of Mentz excommunicates him, and the whole faction acknowledges young Frederick II.

Germany is again divided. Otho, on the brink of losing Germany for having attempted to seize Apulia, repasses the Alps.

1212 — The emperor Otho assembles his adherents at Nuremberg. Young Frederick passes the

Alps after him, and makes himself master of Alsace, the noblemen of which declare in his favor. He engages Ferri, duke of Lorraine, in his party. Germany is from one end to the other the scene of civil war.

1213 — Frederick II. at length receives the crown at Aix-la-Chapelle from the archbishop of Mentz.

Meanwhile, Otho supports himself, and regains almost everything, when he seems to be on the eve of losing the whole.

He was still protected by England; while his competitor, Frederick II., enjoyed the protection of France. Otho reinforces his party by marrying the daughter of the duke of Brabant, after the death of his wife Beatrice. John, king of England, gives him money to attack the king of France. This John was not yet John Lackland, though he was destined to be so, and became like Otho, most unfortunate.

1214 — It seems very remarkable that Otho, who a year before could scarcely defend himself in Germany, should now be able to make war upon Philip Augustus. But he was followed by the dukes of Limburg and Lorraine, the count of Holland, with all the noblemen of that country, and the count of Flanders, who had been interested by the king of England. It is still problematical whether or not the counts of Flanders, who then did homage to France, were, notwithstanding that homage, considered as vassals of the empire.

Otho marches towards Valenciennes with an army of above a hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, while Frederick II., concealed somewhere about Switzerland, waited the issue of this great enterprise. Philip Augustus was hard pressed between the emperor and the king of England.

Between Lille and Tournay there is a small village called Bovines, near which Otho IV., at the head of an army said to be a hundred and twenty thousand strong, attacked the king, who had scarcely half the number. At that time they began to use cross-bows, machines which threw long and heavy arrows, and which were bent with a tourniquet. This weapon was in use under Louis the Gross. But what decided the fate of a battle was the heavy cavalry, quite covered with iron, consisting of all the lords of the fiefs, and their squires. The knights wore cuirasses, buskins, knee-pieces, brassets, cuisses, and helmets. All this armor was made of iron, and above the cuirass they had a shirt of mail called a "hauberk," from the word "albus." This coat of mail was adorned with a piece of stuff embroidered with the knight's coat of arms. These bearings, which began to be in use, were called coats of arms, because they were figured on the knight's arms, to distinguish him in battle. Squires had no right to wear the hauberks or haubergeon. Their helmets were not faced and closed, consequently not so good a defence. They had no brassets nor cuisses; thus, armed more lightly, they had more agility in mounting a horse,

and could better raise up in battle, those heavy masses of knights, who could not move, or even be wounded but with difficulty. Besides, the complete armor of knights was a prerogative of honor, to which the squires had no pretension; they were not allowed to be invulnerable. All that a knight had to fear was being wounded in the face when he lifted up his beaver, or in the flank, through any defect in cuirass, when he was beaten down, or when his coat of mail was taken off; or lastly in the armpits, when he raised his arms. There were likewise troops of cavalry drafted from the common soldiers, not so well armed as the knights. As for the infantry, every man had what defensive armor he pleased to wear, and his offensive arms were the sword, the arrow, the club, and the sling.

It was a bishop who drew up in line of battle the army of Philip Augustus. His name was Guerin, and he had been appointed to the see of Senlis. There was also at that battle a bishop of Beauvais, who had been long kept prisoner by Richard, king of England. He used a club or mace, saying, he should be irregular if he shed human blood. It is not known in what manner the emperor and king disposed their troops. Philip, before the battle, ordered his army to sing the psalm, "*Exurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici ejus,*" as if Otho had been fighting against God. Formerly the French sang verses in honor of Charlemagne and Orlando. The imperial standard of Otho, fixed in a wagon with four wheels,

according to the custom of Germany and Italy, was a long pole supporting a wooden dragon painted, and above the dragon was a gilded eagle of wood. The royal standard of France was a gilded staff, with an ensign of white silk, powdered with golden fleurs-de-lis; for this ornament called flowers de lis, which was no other than a fancy of the painter, began to be assumed as the armorial bearing of the kings of France. The ancient crowns of the Lombard kings, of which we have exact prints in Muratori, are surmounted with this ornament, which is nothing but the iron head of a lance, bound with two other crooked pieces of iron; this is likewise the figure of several sceptres of the old Lombard kings.

Besides the royal standard, Philip Augustus brought into the field the oriflamme of St. Denis, which was a lance of gilded copper, to which was fixed a red silk flag. When the king was in danger, they raised or lowered one or other of these standards. Every knight had likewise his own, called a pendant, and the great knights, who had other knights under them, were provided with another ensign, called a banner. This term "banner," which is so honorable, was nevertheless common to the ensigns of the infantry, which was almost wholly composed of serfs or people lately made free.

The war cry commonly used by the French was "*Mon Joie St. Denis.*" They said indifferently, "*Mon Joie,*" or "*Ma Joie,*" in the barbarous jargon

of France. The German cry was still, "*Kyrie eleison.*"

The Teutonic army, though very strong in infantry, had fewer knights than that of the king. It is to this difference chiefly that we must attribute the victory in this great battle. Those squadrons of horse caparisoned with steel, carrying men impenetrable to blows, and armed with long lances, could not fail to put in disorder the German soldiery almost naked and disarmed, in comparison of those moving citadels.

A proof that knights who were well armed, ran no other risk than that of being dismounted, and were never wounded except by great accident, is that King Philip Augustus thrown from his horse was for a long time surrounded by enemies, and received strokes from all kinds of arms without losing a drop of blood. It is even reported that as he lay upon the ground, a German soldier attempted to thrust a bearded javelin into his throat, but never could penetrate. No knight was killed in the battle, except William de Longchamp, who unluckily died of a thrust in the eye, which he received through the visor of his helmet.

They reckon on the side of the Germans, five and twenty knights banneret, and seven counts of the empire prisoners, but not one wounded; the real danger at that time fell upon the light horse, and especially the infantry of slaves or freed men, who endured all the fatigue and peril of the war.

The emperor Otho lost the battle. Thirty thousand Germans are said to be killed; a number probably exaggerated. The custom then was to load the prisoners with chains. The counts of Flanders and Boulogne were carried to Paris, with shackles on their arms and legs. This was a settled though barbarous custom. Richard *Cœur de Lion,* king of England, said himself, that when he was arrested in Germany, contrary to the law of nations, they loaded him with as heavy chains as he could possibly carry.

With regard to the consequences we do not find that the king of France made any conquest on the side of Germany after his victory at Bovines, but he by this success acquired much more authority over his vassals.

Philip Augustus sends to Frederick in Switzerland, whither he had retired, the imperial car that bore the German eagle. This was a trophy and a pledge of the empire.

FREDERICK II.

TWENTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1214 — Otho being vanquished and totally abandoned, retires to Brunswick, where he is left in peace, because he is no longer formidable. He is not deposed, but forgotten. He is said to have become a devotee: the resource of the unhappy, and the passion of weak minds. His penance is said

to have consisted in his being thrown down and kicked by his kitchen-boys, as if the kicks of a turn-spit could expiate the faults of a prince.

1215 — Frederick II., emperor in consequence of the victory at Bovines, is everywhere acknowledged.

During the troubles of Germany, we have seen that the Danes conquered a great deal of territory to the northward and eastward of the Elbe. Frederick II. began by abandoning these lands by treaty, in which Hamburg is comprehended. But, as a disadvantageous treaty is renounced on the first opportunity, he takes advantage of a quarrel between Otho's brother, count palatine of the Rhine, and the Danes, receives Hamburg into his protection, and afterwards restores it—a shameful beginning of an illustrious reign.

The second coronation of the emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle. He dispossesses the count palatine, and the palatinate reverts to the house of Bavaria, Wittelsbach.

A new Crusade. The emperor takes the cross. He must certainly have still doubted his own power, seeing he promised to Pope Innocent III. that he would never reunite Naples and Sicily to the empire, but give them to his son as soon as he should be consecrated at Rome.

1216 — Frederick II. remains in Germany with his cross, and entertains more designs on Italy than on Palestine. In vain the Crusade is preached to all the kings. At this time no prince set out but Andrew

II., king of Hungary. That people, who were scarcely Christians, take the cross against the Mussulmans, whom they call infidels.

1217 — The German crusaders depart, nevertheless, under various chiefs by sea and land. The fleet of the Low Countries being detained by contrary winds, affords the crusaders another opportunity of employing their arms usefully in Spain. They join the Portuguese, and defeat the Moors. That victory might have been pursued, and Spain wholly delivered, but Pope Honorius III., the successor of Innocent, will not allow it. The popes commanded the crusaders as the soldiers of God, yet they could send them nowhere but to the East. Men must be ruled according to their prejudices, and those soldiers of the popes would not have obeyed them elsewhere.

1218 — Frederick II. had great reason to postpone his voyage. The towns of Italy, and Milan in particular, refused to acknowledge a sovereign, who being master of Germany and the two Sicilies, was powerful enough to enslave all Italy. They still held for Otho IV., who lived obscurely in a corner of Germany. Acknowledging him for emperor was in fact declaring themselves entirely free. Otho dies near Brunswick, and Lombardy has no longer a pretext.

1219 — A great diet at Frankfort, where Frederick II. causes his son Henry, a child of nine years, by Constance of Aragon, to be elected king of the

Romans. All those diets were held in the open field, as they are still, in Poland.

The emperor renounces his right to the movables of deceased bishops, and to the revenues of vacant sees. This is what the French call *"la Régale."* He renounces the right of jurisdiction in episcopal towns, where the emperor shall happen to be, unless he there keeps his court. Almost all the first acts of this prince are renunciations.

1220 — He goes to Italy in quest of that empire, which Frederick Barbarossa had not been able to obtain. Milan at first shuts her gates, as to the grandson of Barbarossa, whose memory the Milanese detested. He pockets the affront, and goes to be crowned at Rome. Honorius III. at first demands that the emperor will confirm him in the possession of several territories of the countess Mathilda. To these Frederick adds the territory of Fondi. The pope desires him to renew his oath to go to the Holy Land; the emperor renews that oath, after which he is crowned with all the ceremonies, whether humble or humbling, of his predecessor. He likewise signalizes his coronation by bloody edicts against heretics. Not that heresy was then known in Germany, where ignorance reigned, with courage and disorder, but the inquisition had been established on account of the Albigenses; and the emperor, to please the pope, issued those cruel edicts, by which the children of heretics are excluded from the succession of their fathers.

These laws, confirmed by the pope, were visibly dictated in order to justify the seizure of the estates taken by the Church, and by force of arms, from the house of Toulouse in the war of the Albigenses. The counts of Toulouse had a great many fiefs of the empire. Frederick was absolutely resolved to please the pope. Such laws were neither of a piece with his age or character. Could they possibly have been suggested by his chancellor, Peter de Vineis, who is accused of having written the pretended book of the three impostors, or at least of having harbored the opinion which the title of the book implies?

1221-24—During these years Frederick did things more worthy of remembrance. He embellished and aggrandized Naples, made it the metropolis of the kingdom, and in a little time it becomes the most populous town in Italy. There were still a number of Saracens in Sicily, and they frequently had recourse to arms. He transports them to Lucera in Apulia, hence that town acquired the name of Lucera, or Nocera de Pagani.

The academy or university of Naples is established, and flourishes. There the law is taught, and the Lombard laws gradually give way to the Roman law.

The design of Frederick II. seems to have been to reside in Italy. One is attached to one's native country: his was already embellished; and that the most delightful country of Europe. He spends fifteen years without going to Germany. Why should

he have so much flattered the popes, and respected the towns of Italy, if he had not conceived the idea of establishing at last the seat of the empire at Rome? Was not that the only way of extricating himself from that equivocal situation in which all the emperors reigned? — a situation become still more perplexing, since the emperor was at once king of Naples, and vassal of the holy see, and had promised to dismember Naples and Sicily from the empire. All this confusion would have been at last unravelled, had the emperor been master of Italy, but destiny otherwise ordained.

It likewise appears that the pope's great design was to rid his hands of Frederick, by sending him to the Holy Land. In order to accomplish this design he had, after the death of Constance of Aragon, persuaded him to marry one of the pretended heiresses of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been long lost. John of Brienne, who assumed the empty title of king of Jerusalem, founded on his mother's claim, gave his daughter, Jolanda, or Violante, in marriage to Frederick, with Jerusalem as her dower — in other words, almost nothing at all— and Frederick married her because she was handsome, and he chose to please the pope. Since that time, the kings of Sicily have always taken the title of king of Jerusalem. Frederick was in no hurry to go and conquer his wife's portion, which consisted only of a claim to a small maritime territory, still possessed by the Christians in Syria.

1225 — During the preceding, and in the following years, young Henry, the emperor's son, resided constantly in Germany. A great revolution happens in Denmark, and in all the provinces that border on the Baltic. The Danish king, Waldemar, had made himself master of those provinces which were inhabited by the western Slavs and the Vandals. From Hamburg to Dantzic, and from Dantzic to Revel, the whole country acknowledged Waldemar.

A count of Schwerin, in Mecklenburg, who had become vassal to that king, forms the design of carrying off Waldemar, and the hereditary prince, his son, and this design he executes at a hunting-match, May 23, 1223.

The king of Denmark being prisoner, implores the assistance of Pope Honorius III., who commands the count of Schwerin and the other German lords who were concerned in this enterprise to set the king and his son at liberty. The popes pretended to have bestowed the crown of Denmark, as well as those of Poland and Bohemia. The emperors likewise pretended to have bestowed it. The popes and emperors, who were not masters in Rome, always disputed the right of making kings at the extremity of Europe. They paid no regard to the command of Honorius. The knights of the Teutonic order join the bishop of Riga in Livonia, and make themselves masters of part of the coast of the Baltic.

Lübeck and Hamburg re-enjoy their liberty and rights. Waldemar and his son, after having been

stripped of almost all they had in that country, are set at liberty, in consequence of giving a very large ransom.

Here we find a new power insensibly established—that is, the Teutonic order, which has already a grand master, together with fiefs in Germany, and conquers territories lying on the Baltic.

1226 — This grand master of the Teutonic order solicits in Germany new aid for Palestine. Pope Honorius presses the emperor to leave Italy as soon as possible, and go and accomplish his vow in Syria. It must be observed that there was at this time a truce of nine years existing between the sultan of Egypt and the crusaders. Frederick II. therefore had no vow to accomplish. He promises to maintain knights in Palestine and is not excommunicated. He ought to have established himself in Lombardy, and afterwards in Rome, rather than in Palestine. The Lombard towns had time to enter into an association. They were called the confederate towns. Milan and Bologna were at their head, and they were no longer considered as subjects, but as vassals of the empire. Frederick II. was desirous of attaching them to him at least, and this was a difficult task. He convokes a diet at Cremona, and summons the Italian and German noblemen to attend.

The pope, fearing the emperor would assume too much authority in this diet, involves him in affairs in Naples. He appoints bishops to five vacant sees in that kingdom without consulting Frederick. He

forbids several towns and noblemen to go to the assembly at Cremona. He supports the rights of the associated towns, and makes himself defender of the Italic liberty.

1227 — A fine triumph for Honorius III.; the emperor having put Milan to the ban of the empire, and transferred to Naples the university of Bologna, admits the pope as judge. All the towns submit to his decision. The pope, as umpire between the emperor and Italy, pronounces sentence: "We decree that the emperor shall forget his resentment against all the towns, and we decree that the towns shall furnish and maintain four hundred knights for the assistance of the Holy Land, during the term of two years."

This was a declaration worthy at once of a sovereign and pontiff. Having determined in this manner between Italy and the emperor, he fits as judge of Waldemar, king of Denmark, who had taken an oath to pay the rest of his ransom to the German lords, and sworn that he would never retake what he had yielded. The pope absolves him of an oath taken in prison and on compulsion. Waldemar re-enters Holstein, but is defeated. His nephew, the lord of Lüneburg and Brunswick, who fights for him, is taken prisoner; nor is he released until he has yielded up some territories. All these expeditions are still civil wars. Germany is for some time quiet.

1228 — Honorius III., dying, and Gregory IX., brother of Innocent III., succeeding, the politics of

the pontificate continued the same; but the humor of the new pontiff was more haughty. He hastens the Crusade, and presses the so-often promised departure of Frederick II. He thought he must send that prince to Jerusalem, in order to prevent his coming to Rome. This spirit of the times made people look on that prince's vow as an indispensable duty. Upon the first delay of the emperor, he is excommunicated by the pope. Frederick still dissembles his resentment, excuses himself, prepares his fleet, and exacts of each fief of Sicily and Naples eight ounces of gold for his voyage: even the ecclesiastics supply him with money, notwithstanding the prohibition of the pope. At length he embarks at Brindisi, though his excommunication is not taken off.

1229 — What step does Gregory IX. take while the emperor goes to the Holy Land? He takes advantage of that prince's having neglected his absolution, or rather of his contempt for the excommunication, and joins with the Milanese, and the other confederate towns, in order to wrest from him the kingdom of Naples, which he was afraid would be incorporated with the empire.

Rinaldo, duke of Spoleto and vicar of the kingdom, takes the march of Ancona from the pope. Then his holiness preaches a crusade in Italy, even against Frederick II., whom he had sent upon a crusade to the Holy Land.

He sends an order to the titular patriarch of Jeru-

salem, residing at Ptolemais, not to acknowledge the emperor. Frederick, still dissembling, concludes with Melescala, whom we call Meledin, sultan of Egypt and master of Syria, a treaty by which the aim of his crusade seems to have been fulfilled. The sultan cedes Jerusalem to him, with some small maritime towns of which the Christians were still in possession; but upon condition that he shall not reside at Jerusalem; that the mosques built in those holy places shall subsist, and that there shall be always an emir in the city. Frederick is supposed to have had some collusion with the sultan, in order to deceive the pope. He goes to Jerusalem with a very small escort and there crowns himself, for no prelate would crown a person who was excommunicated. He soon returns to the kingdom of Naples, where his presence was much wanted.

1230 — He finds in the territory of Capua his brother-in-law, John de Brienne, at the head of the papal crusade. The pope's crusaders, who were called Guelphs, bore the sign of the cross-keys on the shoulders—whereas the emperor's crusaders, who were called Ghibellines, wore the cross. The keys fled before the cross.

All Italy was in combustion, and peace being greatly wanted, was made July 23, at San Germano. All that the emperor got was absolution. He consents that, for the future, all benefices shall be given by election in Sicily; that no clerk, within his two kingdoms, shall be brought before a lay-

judge; that all ecclesiastical estates shall be exempted from taxes; and, in fine, he gives money to the pope.

1231 — Hitherto Frederick II., who is painted as the most dangerous, seems to have been the most patient of men; but it is pretended that his son was ready to rebel in Germany, and that this consideration made the father so flexible in Italy.

1232-34 — It is very clear that the emperor's sole design in staying so long in Italy was to found a true Roman empire. Master as he was in Naples and Sicily, if he had assumed the authority of the Othos in Lombardy he must have been master also in Rome. This was his only crime in the eyes of the popes, and those popes who persecuted him with such violence were always regarded by part of Italy as the supporters of the nation. The party of the Guelphs was that of liberty. In such circumstances Frederick ought to have had large treasures, and a great and well-disciplined army always on foot. This is what he never had. Otho IV., much less powerful than he, had an army of near one hundred and thirty thousand men in the field against the king of France, but he did not keep it in pay, and it was a transient effort of vassals and allies united for a moment.

Frederick might have caused his vassals to march from Germany to Italy. Pope Gregory IX. is said to have prevented this scheme by exciting Henry, king of the Romans, to revolt against his father, as

Gregory VII., Urban II., and Paschal II. had armed the children of Henry IV.

The king of the Romans at first engages in his party several towns along the Rhine and the Danube. The duke of Austria declares in his favor. Milan, Bologna, and other towns of Italy engage in that party against the emperor.

1235 — Frederick II. at length returns to Germany after an absence of fifteen years. The marquis of Baden defeats the rebels. Young Henry comes and throws himself at his father's feet in the great diet in Mentz. It is in these famous diets, these parliaments of princes, where the emperors preside in person, that the greatest affairs of Europe are always treated of with the utmost solemnity. The emperor, in this memorable diet in Mentz, deposes his son, Henry, king of the Romans, and dreading the fate of Louis the Weak, surnamed "*Le Débonnaire,*" as well as that of the courageous and too easy Henry IV., he condemns his rebellious son to perpetual imprisonment. He in that diet secures the duchy of Brunswick to the house of Guelph, in whose possession it still remains. He solemnly receives the canon law published by Gregory IV., and orders the decrees of the empire, for the first time, to be published in the German language, though he himself did not love that tongue, but cultivated the romance to which the Italian succeeded.

1236 — He gives it in charge to the king of

Bohemia, the duke of Bavaria, and some bishops, who were enemies to the duke of Austria, to make war on that duke, as vassals of the empire, who maintain its rights against rebels.

He returns to Lombardy, though with a few troops, consequently can undertake no effectual expedition. Some towns, as Vicenza and Verona, being abandoned to plunder, render him more odious to the Guelphs, without making him more powerful.

1237 — He comes to Austria, which was defended by the Hungarians. He subdues it; founds a university at Vienna; confirms the privileges of some imperial towns, such as Ratisbon and Strasburg; causes his son, Conrad, to be acknowledged king of the Romans, in the room of Henry; and at length, after this success in Germany, thinks himself strong enough to accomplish his grand scheme of subduing Italy. Thither he flies, takes Mantua, and defeats the army of the confederates.

The pope, who now saw him making long strides towards the execution of his great design, makes a diversion through the affairs of the Church; and, under pretence that the emperor had caused clerks to be tried in lay-courts, excites all Italy against him, and the Church excites the people.

1238-39 — Frederick II. had a bastard, called Enzius, whom he had made king of Sardinia; another pretext for the pontiff, who pretended that Sardinia held of the holy see.

This was still Pope Gregory IX. The different

names of the popes never make any alteration in the state of affairs; it is always the same quarrel and the same spirit. Gregory IX. solemnly excommunicates the emperor twice in passion week. They write bitterly against each other. The pope accuses the emperor of having affirmed that mankind had been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet. Frederick calls Gregory Antichrist, Balaam, and the Prince of Darkness.

The emperor's patience was at length exhausted, and he believed himself powerful. The Dominicans and Franciscans, the spiritual militia of the pope, lately established, are expelled from Naples and Sicily. The Benedictines of Monte Cassino share the same fate, no more than eight being left to do duty; and the pope's letters are forbidden to be received in the two kingdoms on pain of death.

All these proceedings tend more and more to inflame the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. Venice and Genoa join the towns of Lombardy. The emperor marches against them, and is defeated by the Milanese. This is the third signal victory by which the Milanese have supported their liberty against the emperors.

1240 — There is now no room to negotiate, as the emperor had always done. He augments his troops and marches to Rome, where there was a strong party of Ghibellines. Gregory IX. exposes the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul; harangues the people in their name; inflames their minds; and profits by

that moment of enthusiasm to make a crusade against the emperor.

That prince finding it impracticable to enter Rome goes and ravages the Beneventine. Such was the power of the popes in Europe; and the name of "crusade" was become so sacred, that the pope obtains a twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues in France, and a fifth in England for his crusade against the emperor.

He offers by his legates the imperial crown to Robert d'Artois, brother of St. Louis. He says, in his letter to the king and baronage of France: "We have condemned Frederick, who calls himself emperor, and deprived him of the empire. We have elected in his place Prince Robert, the king's brother, whom we will support with all our power, and by all kinds of means."

This indiscreet offer was refused. Some historians say, in quoting Matthew Paris, the barons of France answered that it was enough for Robert d'Artois to be brother of a king who was above the emperor. They even pretend that the ambassadors of Louis said the same thing, in the same terms, to Frederick. But it is by no means probable that they would make such an indecent, rude answer, so little founded on truth, and which could be of no signification.

The answer of the barons of France, as Matthew Paris relates it, is not more likely. The chief of those barons were all the bishops of the kingdom.

Now is it very probable that all the barons and all the bishops, in the time of St. Louis, should make this reply to the pope: "*Tantum religionis in Papa non invenimus, qui eum debuit promovisse, et Deo militantem protexisse, eum conatus est absentem confundere et nequiter supplantare.*" "We do not find so much religion in the pope, who ought to have promoted and protected him as a soldier of God; whereas he hath endeavored to confound and wickedly supplant him in his absence."

A reader endowed with the least share of common sense will see that a nation in a body could not return such an insolent answer to the pope who offered them the empire. How could the bishops write to the pope that the unbelieving Frederick II. had more religion that his holiness? This should teach us to distrust those historians who erect their own private notions into public monuments.

1241 — About this time the people of Great Tartary threatened the rest of the world. That vast reservoir of brutal and warlike men had vomited its inundations over almost our whole hemisphere from the fifth century of the Christian era. Part of those conquerors had come and wrested Palestine from the sultan of Egypt, and the small number of Christians who still remained in that country. More considerable hordes of Tartars under Batu Khan, grandson of Genghis Khan, had been as far as Poland and Hungary.

The Hungarians, mixed with the Huns, formerly

countrymen of those Tartars, had been vanquished by the newcomers. This torrent had spread in Dalmatia, and thus extended its ravages from Pekin to the frontiers of Germany. Was this a time for a pope to excommunicate the emperor and assemble a council to depose him?

Gregory IX. convokes that council. One can scarce conceive how he could propose to the emperor to make a total cession of the empire and all his dominions to the holy see, as the only effectual means of a reconciliation. The pope, nevertheless, makes this proposal. What must have been the spirit of an age in which these proposals were made?

1242 — The eastern part of Germany is delivered from the Tartars, who retreat like wild beasts after they have seized their prey. Gregory IX. and his successor, Celestine IV., dying almost in the same year, and the holy see having been long vacant, it is surprising that the emperor should press the Romans, even at the head of an army, to elect a new pope. One would think it was for his interest that the chair of his enemies should not be filled, but the motives that influenced the politics of those times are very little known. Certain it is, Frederick II. must have been a wise prince, feeling that in those times of trouble Germany and his kingdom of Naples and Sicily were in tranquillity.

1243 — The cardinals, assembled at Agnana, elect Cardinal Fiesco, a Genoese of the family of the

counts of Lavagna, attached to the emperor, who says: "Fiesco was my friend; the pope will be my enemy."

1244 — Fiesco, known by the name of Innocent IV., does not proceed so far as to demand that Frederick II. would yield the empire to him, but he demands the restitution of all the towns of the ecclesiastical state, and of the countess Mathilda, and insists on the emperor's doing homage for Naples and Sicily.

1245 — Innocent IV., on the emperor's refusal, assembles in Lyons the council summoned by Gregory IX. This is the thirteenth general council. It may be asked why this council was held in an imperial town? This town was protected by France; the archbishop was a prince, and in those provinces the emperor had nothing else than the vain title of "Lord Paramount."

There were but one hundred and forty bishops at this general council, but it was adorned with the presence of several princes, especially of Baldwin de Courtenai, emperor of Constantinople, who was placed on the pope's right hand. That monarch was come to ask favors, which he did not obtain.

Frederick did not neglect to send ambassadors for his defence at this council, where he was to be accused. Innocent IV. pronounced against him two long harangues in the first two sessions. A monk of the order of Citeaux, bishop of Carniola, near Garillan, who was expelled from the kingdom of

Naples by Frederick, accuses him in form. There is not now any regular tribunal which would admit of the accusations alleged by that monk. "The emperor," says he, "believes neither in God nor in the saints." But who had told the monk so? "The emperor has several wives living at one time." But who were those wives? "He carries on a correspondence with the sultan of Babylon." But why may not the titular king of Jerusalem treat with his neighbor? "He is of opinion with Averroës, that Jesus Christ and Mahomet were impostors." But in what place has Averroës said so much, and how is it proved that the emperor is of his opinion? "He is a heretic." But what is heresy? and how can he be a heretic, if he is no Christian?

Thaddeus Sessa, Frederick's ambassador, answers that this monkish bishop has told a lie, that his master is a very good Christian, and does not tolerate simony. In these words he plainly enough accuses the court of Rome.

The ambassador of England goes further: "You draw," says he, "by your Italians, above sixty thousand marks a year from the kingdom of England; you tax all our churches; you excommunicate those who complain. We shall not long suffer such imposition."

All these remonstrances serve only to hasten the pope's sentence. "I pronounce," says Innocent IV., "Frederick convicted of sacrilege and heresy, excommunicated and deprived of the empire. I

order the electors to choose another emperor, and save to myself the disposal of the kingdom of Sicily."

After having pronounced this sentence, he thunders a *Te Deum,* as it is now performed after a victory. The emperor was in Turin, which then belonged to the marquis of Susa. He calls for the imperial crown, which the emperors always carried about with them, and setting it on his head, says: "The pope has not yet deprived me of this, and before he does, there will be a great deal of bloodshed." He sends a circular letter to all the Christian princes: "I am not the first," said he, "whom the clergy have treated in such an unworthy manner, and I shall not be the last. You are the cause of all this, in obeying those hypocrites whose boundless ambition you know. What a number of infamous practices will you not discover in Rome, at which human nature must shudder?" etc.

1246 — The pope writes to the duke of Austria, expelled from his dominions, to the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Brabant, to the archbishops of Cologne, Trier, and Mentz, and to the bishops of Strasburg and Spires, ordering them to elect for emperor, Henry, landgrave of Thuringia. The dukes refuse to come to the diet convoked at Würzburg, and the bishops crown their Thuringian, whom they call the "King of Priests."

Here are two important circumstances to be observed: First, it is plain the electors were not

seven in number; secondly, Conrad, the emperor's son, king of the Romans, was comprehended in the excommunication of his father, and divested of all his rights as a heretic, according to the law of the popes and that of his own father, who had published it at a time when he wanted to ingratiate himself with the popes.

Conrad supports his father's cause and his own. He gives battle to the king of the priests near Frankfort, but is worsted. The Landgrave of Thuringia dies in besieging Ulm, but the imperial schism does not end.

It was probably in this year that Frederick II., having but too many enemies, reconciles himself to the duke of Austria, and in order to attach him to his interest, bestows on him and his descendants the title of king, by a patent still preserved at Vienna. This patent is without a date. It is very strange that the dukes of Austria never made use of it. In all likelihood the princes of the empire opposed this new title bestowed by an excommunicated emperor, whom one-half of Germany began to renounce.

1247 — Innocent IV. offers the empire to several princes. All refuse so tempestuous a dignity. It is accepted by one William, count of Holland, a young nobleman twenty years of age. The greatest part of Germany does not acknowledge him; it is the pope's legate who appoints this emperor at Cologne, and invests him with the order of knighthood.

1248 — Two factions are formed in Germany, as violent as those of the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Italy. One sticks to Frederick and his son Conrad, the other adheres to the new king, William. This is what the pope wanted. William is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbishop of Cologne. The festivals that attended this coronation are bloodshed on every hand, and towns reduced to ashes.

1249 — The emperor is now no more in Italy than the chief of a faction in a civil war. His son Enzio, whom we call Enzius, is defeated by the Poles, falls into their hands as a prisoner, and his father cannot obtain his liberty even for money.

Another fatal adventure disturbs the last days of Frederick II., provided the adventure be such as is related. His famous chancellor, Peter de Vineis, or rather de la Vigna, his counsellor, his oracle, and friend of thirty years' standing, restorer of the laws in Italy, is said to have attempted to poison him by the hands of his physician. Historians differ about the year of this event, and that difference may create some suspicion. Is it credible that the first magistrate in Europe, a venerable old man, should hatch such an abominable treason? and for what reason? to please the pope, who was his enemy. Where could he hope for a more considerable fortune? What better post could the physician have than that of being physician to the emperor?

Certain it is, Peter de Vineis had his eyes put out. This is not the punishment of one who poisons his

master. Several Italian authors pretend that a court intrigue was the cause of his disgrace, and provoked Frederick II. to this cruelty, and the account is very probable.

1250 — Meanwhile, Frederick makes another effort in Lombardy. He even orders some troops to pass the Alps, and alarms the pope, who was still at Lyons under the protection of St. Louis; for that king of France, while he blamed the excesses of the pope, respected his person and his council. This was Frederick's last expedition.

1251 — He dies December 17. Some believe he felt remorse for the treatment he had given to Peter de Vineis, but it appears by his will that he repented of nothing he had done. His life and death make a very important era in history. Of all the emperors he was the man who endeavored most to establish the empire in Italy, and who succeeded least, possessing all the requisites for success.

The popes, who would have no masters, and the towns of Lombardy, which so often defended their liberty against a master, prevented the possibility of there being a Roman emperor.

Sicily, but especially Naples, was his favorite kingdom. He increased and embellished Naples and Capua, built Alitea, Monteleone, Flagella, Dondona, Aquila, and several other towns; founded universities, and cultivated the liberal arts in those climates where the fruit seems to come spontaneous, and one circumstance that endeared his native coun-

try to him was that he himself was the legislator of it. In spite of his understanding, courage, application, and labors, he was very unfortunate, and his death produced still greater misfortunes.

CONRAD IV.

TWENTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

Conrad IV., son of Frederick II., has a better title to be ranked among the emperors than those who are placed between the descendants of Charlemagne and the Othos. He had been twice crowned king of the Romans. He succeeded a respectable father, and William, count of Holland, his competitor, who was likewise called the King of the Priests, as well as the Landgrave of Thuringia, had no other right than the pope's order and the suffrages of some bishops.

Conrad at first suffers a defeat near Oppenheim, but still supports himself. He forces his competitor to quit Germany. He goes to Lyons to visit Pope Innocent IV., who confirms him king of the Romans, and promises to give him the imperial crown at Rome.

It was becoming usual to preach crusades against Christian princes. The pope ordered one to be preached in Germany against Emperor Conrad and another in Italy, against Manfredo, or Mainfroy, natural son of Frederick II., at that time faithful to his brother and the last will of his father.

This Mainfroy, prince of Tarentum, governed Naples and Sicily in the name of Conrad. The pope caused Naples and Mantua to revolt against him. Conrad marches thither, and seems to abandon Germany to his rival, William, that he might go and second his brother, Mainfroy, against the crusades of the pope.

1252 — During that time William of Holland establishes himself in Germany. We may here observe an adventure, which proves how long all rights continued uncertain, and all limits confounded. A countess of Flanders and Hainault is at war with John Davennes, her son by a former marriage, for the right of succession of that very son to his mother's lands. St. Louis is chosen arbitrator. He adjudges Hainault to Davennes, and Flanders to the son of the second marriage. John Davennes says to King Louis: "You give me Hainault, which does not depend on you; it holds of the bishop of Liège, and is an under fief of the empire. Flanders really holds of you, and you withhold it from me."

It was not then decided of what prince Hainault held. Flanders was another problem. All the country of Alost was fief of the empire, as well as all that bordering on the Scheldt. But the rest of Flanders, from Ghent, held of the kings of France. Meanwhile, William, as king of Germany, puts the countess to the ban of the empire and confiscates all her estate for the advantage of John Davennes, in

the year 1252. This affair was at last accomplished, but it shows what inconveniences attend the feudal right. It was still worse in Italy, especially for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

1253-54 — These years, which, as well as the following, are called the years of interregnum, though productive of confusion and anarchy, are nevertheless worthy of consideration.

The house of Morienne and Savoy, which espouses the party of William, receives from him the investiture of Turin, Montcalier, Jurea, and several fiefs, which make it a very powerful family.

In Germany, the towns of Frankfort, Mentz, Cologne, Worms, and Spires, associate together for the benefit of trade, and to defend themselves from the country gentlemen who were so many robbers. This union of the towns on the Rhine was not so much an imitation of the confederacy of the towns of Lombardy, as of the first Hanse towns, Lübeck, Hamburg, and Brunswick.

In a little time the greatest part of the towns of Germany and Flanders engage in the Hanse. The principal object is to maintain vessels and barks at the common expense, for the security of commerce. A bill of one of these towns passes current in all the rest. The confidence of trade is established. Merchants, by means of this alliance, do more service to society than ever was done by so many emperors and popes.

The city of Lübeck alone is already so powerful

that in a civil war which was kindled in Denmark, it equips a fleet at its own expense.

While the trading towns secure these temporal advantages, the knights of the Teutonic order resolve to procure that of Christianity to the rest of the Vandals who lived in Prussia and the neighborhood. Ottocar II., king of Bohemia, takes the cross with them. All the kings of Bohemia took the name of Ottocar, since they had espoused the party of Otho IV. They defeat the Pagans, and the two Prussian chiefs receive baptism. Ottocar rebuilds Königsberg.

Other scenes open in Italy. The pope still maintains the war, and insists on disposing of Naples and Sicily. But he cannot recover his own demesnes, nor those of the countess Mathilda. We always see the popes powerful abroad, in consequence of the excommunications which they thunder forth and the divisions they foment, but very impotent in Italy, and especially in Rome.

The factions of the Ghibellines and the Guelphs divided and desolated Italy. They had begun from the quarrels between the popes and the emperors. These names had been everywhere a word of banter in the time of Frederick II. Those who pretend to acquire fiefs and titles which were bestowed by the emperors, declared themselves Ghibellines. The Guelphs seemed more the partisans of the Italic liberty. The Guelph party in Rome was indeed for the pope, when the business was to unite against

the emperor, but the same party opposed the pope when the pontiff, freed from a master, wanted to become master himself in his turn. These factions were again subdivided into several different parties, and served to nourish discord in towns and families. Some old captains of Frederick II. employed these names of faction, which inflamed the minds of men, to enlist people under their colors, and cloaked their robberies with the pretext of supporting the rights of the empire. Robbers of another gang pretended to serve the pope who gave them no such commission, and ravaged Italy in his name. Among those robbers who rendered themselves famous, there was a partisan of Frederick II., called Ezzelino, who had well nigh established a great dominion and entirely changed the face of affairs. He is still famous for the ravages he committed. Booty enabled him to raise an army, and had he been always favored by fortune, he must have become a conqueror. But at last he was taken in an ambuscade, and Rome, which dreaded him, was delivered of her fear. The Guelph and Ghibelline factions were not extinguished in him. They existed for a long time, and were very violent, even while Germany was without a real emperor, during the interregnum that succeeded Conrad's death, and could no longer serve as a pretext for these troubles. A pope in these circumstances had a very difficult place to fill. Obliged as a bishop to preach peace in the midst of war, being at the head of the Roman government, without

power to attain absolute authority, under the necessity of defending himself against the Ghibellines, and of managing the Guelphs, and above all things, in fear of an imperial house that possesses Naples and Sicily; every part of his situation was precarious. The popes, since Gregory VII., had always this in common with the emperors: the title of masters of the world, and a power that was very circumscribed. And if we attentively consider the subject we shall see that from the very first successors of Charlemagne, the Empire and the Church are two problems of very difficult solution.

Conrad sends for one of his brothers, to whom Frederick II. had given the duchy of Austria. This young prince dies, and is suspected of having been poisoned by Conrad, for at this time the death of every prince who did not die of old age was imputed to poison. Conrad IV. dies soon after, and Mainfroy is accused of having despatched him by the same means.

The emperor, Conrad IV., who died in the flower of his age, left a child, that unhappy Conradin, of whom Mainfroy becomes the guardian. Pope Innocent IV. persecutes in this infant the memory of his fathers. Finding that he cannot make himself master of the kingdom of Naples, he offers it to the king of England; he offers it to a brother of St. Louis, but he dies in the midst of his prospects, even in the city of Naples, which his party had conquered. By the last enterprises of Innocent IV.,

one would think he was a warrior. No such thing. He was counted a profound divine.

1255 — After the death of Conrad IV., the last emperor, though not the last prince, of the house of Suabia, it was probable that young William of Holland, who began to reign in Germany, without opposition, would raise a new imperial house. That feudal right which has produced so many disputes and so many wars, induces him to arm against the Frieslanders. It was pretended that they were vassals of the counts of Holland and under-vassals of the empire. He marches against them and is slain about the latter end of 1255, or beginning of the following year, and this is the era of the great anarchy of Germany.

The same anarchy prevails in Rome, Lombardy, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

The Guelphs had been expelled from Naples by Mainfroy. The new pope, Alexander IV., though but indifferently established in Rome, resolves, like his predecessor, to wrest Naples and Sicily from the excommunicated house of Suabia, and strip at once young Conradin, to whom the kingdom belonged, and Mainfroy, who was his guardian.

Who could believe that Alexander causes a crusade to be preached in England against Conrad, and that in offering the dominions of the infant to Henry III., king of England, he borrows even in the name of that English king, money enough to raise an army for himself? What conduct is this for a

pontiff to strip an orphan! A legate of the pope commands this army, which is said to have amounted to near fifty thousand men. The pope's army is defeated and despised.

Let us, moreover, observe that Pope Alexander IV., who believed himself strong enough to conquer two kingdoms, though at the gates of Rome, dare not enter, but retires to Viterbo. Rome always resembled those imperial towns which dispute the rights of regality with their archbishops; as Cologne, for example, the municipal government of which is independent of the elector. Rome continued in this precarious situation till the time of Alexander VI.

1256-58 — In Germany it is resolved to make an emperor. The German princes then thought as the Polish palatines of these days. They would not have a king from among their own countrymen. One faction chooses Alphonso X., king of Castile; another elects Richard, brother of Henry III., king of England. These two send severally to the pope, desiring that their election might be confirmed. The pope will confirm neither. Richard meanwhile goes to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he is crowned May 17, 1257, without, however, being more obeyed in Germany on account of that ceremony.

Alphonso of Castile acts as sovereign of Germany at Toledo. Frederick III., duke of Lorraine, goes thither, and receives on his knees the investiture of his duchy, together with the dignity of great

Seneschal of the emperor, on the banks of the Rhine, and the right of laying the first dish on the imperial table in plenary courts.

All the historians of Germany, as the more modern, say that Richard never appeared again in the empire. But this was because they were not acquainted with the "Chronicle of England," written by Thomas Wik. That chronicle gives us to understand that Richard went three times to Germany, where he exercised the rights of emperor on more than one occasion; that in 1263 he gave the investiture of Austria and Styria to one Ottocar, king of Bohemia, and that in 1269 he married the daughter of a baron called Falkemorit, with whom he returned to London. That long interregnum, then so much talked of, did not really exist, although these years may be called an interregnum because Richard was seldom in Germany. In those times we find nothing in Germany but petty wars between petty sovereigns.

1259 — Young Conradin was then educated in Bavaria, with his cousin, the titular duke of Austria, of the old branch of Austria, which is now extinct. Mainfroy, more ambitious than loyal, tired of being regent, causes himself to be proclaimed king of Naples and Sicily.

Thus he furnished the pope with a just handle for seeking his destruction. Alexander IV., as pontiff, had a right to excommunicate a perjured person, and, as lord paramount of Naples, to punish a

usurper. But he had no title, either as pope or paramount, to deprive the young and innocent Conradin of his inheritance.

Mainfroy, who believes himself firmly established, treats the pope's excommunications and enterprises with contempt.

Erzelin, another tyrant, lays waste the countries of Lombardy which adhere to the Guelphs and the pontiffs. At last he is wounded in a battle against the Cremonese, and the earth is delivered from his ravages.

1260-66 — While Germany is either quite desolate, or languishes in anarchy, while Italy is divided into factions, England involved in civil wars, and St. Louis, redeemed from captivity in Egypt, meditates another crusade, which was more unfortunate, if possible, than the first, the holy see still perseveres in the design of wresting Naples and Sicily from Mainfroy, and of stripping at once the guilty guardian and the innocent orphan.

Whatever pope sits on St. Peter's chair, it is still the same genius, and the same medley of greatness and impotence. The Romans will neither acknowledge the temporal authority of the pope, nor be ruled by emperors. The popes are scarce endured in Rome, and yet they bestow and take away kingdoms. Rome at that time chose one senator only, as protector of her liberty. Mainfroy, his son-in-law, Peter of Aragon, and Charles, duke of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, all three caballed for this dig-

nity, which was that of patrician, under another name.

Urban IV., the new pontiff, offers Naples and Sicily to Charles of Anjou, but he does not choose to see him senator, because then he would be too powerful.

He proposes that St. Louis should equip the duke of Anjou with an armament for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. St. Louis hesitates. It was plainly a proposal to rob a ward of an inheritance derived from so many ancestors, who had conquered those dominions from the Mussulmans. The pope quiets his scruples. Charles of Anjou accepts the donation from the pope, and causes himself to be elected senator of Rome in spite of the pope.

Urban IV., being now too far engaged to retract, makes Charles of Anjou promise that he will in five years renounce the title of senator. And as that prince was obliged to take an oath to the Romans for his whole life, the pope reconciles these two oaths, and absolves him of the one, provided he will take the other.

He likewise obliges him to swear in the hands of his legate that he will never possess the empire, together with the crown of Sicily. This was the law of the popes, his predecessors, and this law shows how much they had been afraid of Frederick II.

The count of Anjou, above all things, promises to assist the holy see in recovering the patrimony

which had been usurped by a number of noblemen, together with the lands of the countess Mathilda. He engages to pay eight thousand ounces of gold as a yearly tribute, consenting to be excommunicated if ever that payment is delayed two months. He swears to abolish all the rights which the French conquerors and the princes of the house of Suabia had enjoyed over ecclesiastics, and in so doing renounces the singular prerogative of Sicily.

On these and a great number of other conditions, he embarks at Marseilles with thirty galleys and goes to Rome in June, 1265, to receive the investiture of Naples and of Sicily, which he had bought so dear.

A battle fought in the plains of Beneventum, February 26, 1266, decides the whole dispute. There Mainfroy is slain, and his wife, children, and treasures fall into the hands of the victor.

The pope's legate, who was in the army, deprives Mainfroy's body of Christian burial, a revenge both cowardly and ill-timed, which served only to irritate the minds of men.

1267-68 — Charles of Anjou no sooner mounts the throne of Sicily than he is dreaded by the pope and hated by his subjects. Conspiracies are formed against him. The Ghibellines, who divided Italy, send to Bavaria to solicit young Conradin to come and take the inheritance of his fathers. Clement IV., the successor of Urban, forbids him to come to

Italy, as a sovereign transmits his order to his subject.

Conradin, at the age of sixteen, sets out with his uncle, the duke of Bavaria, the count of Tyrol, whose daughter he had married, and particularly with his cousin, the young duke of Austria, who was no more master in Austria than Conradin was in Naples. Excommunications are not wanting. Clement IV., that he might oppose him the more effectually, appoints Charles of Anjou imperial vicar in Tuscany. That illustrious province, which had recovered its liberty by its own spirit and courage, was divided into Guelphs and Ghibellines, and by this appointment the Guelphs assumed all the authority.

Charles of Anjou, senator of Rome and chief of Tuscany, becomes still more formidable to the pope. But Conradin would have been more so.

The hearts of all men were inclined to Conradin, and by a very singular destiny the Romans and Mussulmans declared for him at the same time. On one hand, the infant Henry, brother of Alphonso X., king of Castile, a true knight-errant, goes to Italy and there causes himself to be declared senator of Rome, in order to support the rights of Conradin; on the other hand, a king of Tunis lends them money and galleys, and all the Saracens who remained in the kingdom of Naples take arms in his favor.

Conradin is received as emperor in the capital of Rome. His galleys anchor on the coast of Sicily,

and there his troops are joyfully received by almost the whole nation. He marches from one success to another, as far as Aquila in the Abruzzo. The French knights, inured to war, entirely defeat, in a pitched battle, the army of Conradin, composed in a hurry, of different nations.

Conradin, the duke of Austria, and Henry of Castile, are made prisoners.

The historians Villani, Guadelfiero, and Fazelli, affirm that Pope Clement IV. demanded of Charles of Anjou the death of Conradin. It was his last request, and he died soon after. Charles orders the sentence of death to be pronounced on the two princes, by Robert de Bari, his prothonotary. He sends Henry of Castile prisoner to Provence, which belonged to him in right of his wife.

On the twenty-sixth day of October, 1268, Conradin and Frederick of Austria are executed in the market-place of Naples, by the hand of the hangman. This is the first example of such an outrage against crowned heads. Conradin, before he received the stroke, threw his glove among the crowd and begged that somebody would carry it to his cousin, Peter of Aragon, Mainfroy's son-in-law, who would one day avenge his death. The glove was taken up by the chevalier Truchsess de Waldburg, who actually fulfilled his desire. Since that time the house of Waldburg bears the arms of Conradin, which are those of Suabia. The young duke of Austria, being first executed, Conradin, who loved him tenderly,

took up his head, which he was kissing when he received the fatal stroke.

Several noblemen were beheaded on the same scaffold. Some time after, Charles of Anjou ordered Mainfroy's widow and his remaining son to be put to death in prison. What is very surprising, we do not find that St. Louis, who was brother of this Charles of Anjou, ever in the least reproached the barbarian for his horrible cruelty. On the contrary, it was partly in favor of Charles that he undertook his last unfortunate crusade against the king of Tunis, who was Conradin's protector.

1269-72 — The petty wars still continued between the noblemen of Germany. Rudolph, count of Hapsburg, in Switzerland, had already signalized himself in these wars, and especially in that which he had supported against the bishop of Basel, in favor of the abbot of St. Gall. About this time began the treaties of hereditary confraternity between the German houses. This is a mutual deed of the lands of one house to another, in case of survivorship in the male line.

The first of these treaties had been made in the last years of Frederick II., between the houses of Saxony and Hesse.

The Hanse towns, during this period, augment their privileges and power. They establish consuls in all affairs of trade. For to what other tribunal could they at that time have had recourse?

The same necessity which inspired the invention

of consuls in the trading towns, was the occasion of instituting *austrègues* for other towns and noblemen, who had no mind to decide their differences by the sword. These *austrègues* are either from the nobility or from the towns themselves, chosen as umpires to determine without the expense of a lawsuit. These two establishments, so lucky and so wise, were the fruits of the unfortunate times, which obliged people to have recourse to such expedients.

Germany still remained without a chief, but was resolved to have one at last.

Richard of England was dead. Alphonso of Castile has now no party. Ottocar III., king of Bohemia, duke of Austria and Styria, was proposed, and is said to have refused the empire. He was then at war with Bela, king of Hungary, who disputed with him Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. He might have contested Styria, which depended on Austria, but not Carinthia and Carniola, which he had actually purchased.

Peace is concluded. Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola remain in the possession of Ottocar. We cannot conceive how he who was so powerful should refuse the empire; he who afterwards refused homage to the emperor. It is much more likely that they would not have him for emperor for that very reason, because he was too powerful.

RUDOLPH I. OF HAPSBURG.

First Emperor of the House of Austria.

TWENTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1273 — At length they assemble at Frankfort to elect an emperor in consequence of letters from Pope Gregory X., who threatens to appoint one. This was a new circumstance, that a pope should be so desirous of having an emperor.

In this assembly they proposed no prince who possessed extensive dominions. They were too jealous of one another. The count of Tyrol, who was of the number of electors, names three persons: A count de Görz, lord of a small country in the Friuli and absolutely unknown; one Bernard, as little known, who had nothing but some pretensions on the duchy of Carinthia; and Rudolph of Hapsburg, a celebrated captain and great marshal of the court of Ottocar, king of Bohemia.

The electors, being divided between these three competitors, refer the affair to the decision of Louis the Severe, count palatine, and duke of Bavaria, the same who had educated and in vain befriended the unhappy Conradin and Frederick of Austria. This is the first example of such an arbitration. Louis of Bavaria names Rudolph of Hapsburg emperor.

The burgrave or constable of Nuremberg carries the news to Rudolph, who, being no longer in the service of the king of Bohemia, was employed in his petty wars about Basel and Strasburg.

Alphonso of Castile and the king of Bohemia in vain protest against this election. This protest of Ottocar is surely no proof of his having refused the imperial crown. Rudolph was the son of Albert, count of Hapsburg, in Switzerland. His mother was Ulrica of Riburg, who had several lordships in Alsace. He had been long ago married to Anne of Heneberg, by whom he had four children. He was turned of fifty-five when he ascended the imperial throne. He had one brother, colonel in the service of the Milanese, and another a canon at Basel, but both died before his election.

He is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, though we know not by what archbishop. It is reported that the imperial sceptre, said to be that used by Charlemagne, being missing, this defect of formality began to serve as a pretext to several noblemen who did not choose to take the oath. He seized a crucifix. "This is my sceptre," said he, and all present did him homage. This action of fortitude alone rendered him respectable, and the rest of his conduct showed him worthy of the empire.

He marries his son, Albert, to a daughter of the count of Tyrol, sister-in-law of Conradin. By this marriage Albert seems to acquire the right to Alsace and Suabia, the family inheritance of the famous Emperor Frederick II. Alsace was then divided among several petty lords. It was necessary to make war on them. He, by his prudence, procures the troops of the empire, and subdues the whole by his

valor. A prefect is appointed to govern Alsace. This is one of the most important eras with regard to the interior parts of Germany. The possessors of lands in Suabia and Alsace held of the imperial house of Suabia; but after the extinction of that house in the person of the unfortunate Conradin, they would hold of none but the empire. This is the true origin of the immediate nobility, and this is the reason that a greater number of this nobility is found in Suabia than in all the other provinces.

The Emperor Rudolph succeeds in subduing the gentlemen of Alsace, and creates a prefect in that province, but after him the barons of Alsace became for the most part free and immediate barons, as much sovereigns in their small demesnes as the greatest German noblemen were in their extensive dominions. This, through the greatest part of Europe, was the aim of every person who possessed a castle or country house.

1274 — Three ambassadors of Rudolph take the oath in his name to Pope Gregory X., in the consistory. The pope writes to Rudolph: "By the advice of the cardinals, we appoint you king of the Romans."

Alphonso X., king of Castile, at this time renounces the empire.

1275 — Rudolph visits the pope at Lausanne. He promises to cause the march of Ancona and the lands of Mathilda to be restored. He promises that which he could not perform. All this country was

in the hands of the towns and noblemen, who had seized it at the expense of the pope and the empire. Italy was divided into twenty principalities or republics, like ancient Greece, but more powerful. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, had a greater number of ships than the emperor could maintain of ensigns. Florence became considerable, and was already the nurse of the liberal arts.

Rudolph first of all applied his attention to Germany. Ottocar III., the powerful king of Bohemia, duke of Austria, Carinthia, and Carniola, refused to do him homage. "I owe nothing to Rudolph," said he, "I have paid him his wages. He associates with Bavaria."

Rudolph supports the majesty of his rank. He puts this powerful Ottocar to the ban of the empire, together with Henry, duke of Bavaria, who is leagued with him. The emperor is furnished with troops, and goes to avenge the rights of the German Empire.

1276 — The Emperor Rudolph defeats, one after another, all those who espouse the party of Ottocar, or who attempt to take the least advantage of this division; namely, the count of Neuburg, the count of Freiburg, the marquis of Baden, the count of Würtemberg, and Henry, duke of Bavaria.

He all at once finishes this war with the Bavarians by giving one of his daughters in marriage to that prince's son, and receives forty thousand ounces of gold, instead of giving a portion with his daughter.

Thence he marches against Ottocar, whom he forces to a competition. The king of Bohemia cedes Austria, Styria, and Carniola. He consents to do liege homage to the emperor in the island of Camberg, in the middle of the Danube, under a pavilion close covered, that he might be spared a public mortification.

Ottocar repairs to the place quite covered with gold and jewels. Rudolph, superior in his pride, receives him in the most coarse and simple dress, and in the midst of the ceremony the curtains of the pavilion fall back and expose to the eyes of the people and the armies who lined the banks of the Danube, the haughty Ottocar on his knees, with his hands joined between those of his conqueror, whom he had so often called his steward, and to whom he now became cup-bearer. This story is well vouched, though the truth of it is of very little importance.

1277 — The wife of Ottocar, more haughty than her husband, reproaches him so much for the homage he had done and the cession of his provinces, that the king of Bohemia renews the war towards Austria.

The emperor obtains a complete victory August 26, and Ottocar is slain in the battle. The victor uses his fortune like a legislator. He gives Bohemia to young Wenceslaus, the son of the vanquished, and the regency to the marquis of Brandenburg.

1278 — Rudolph makes his entry into Vienna and

establishes himself in Austria. Louis, duke of Bavaria, who had more than one right to that duchy, wants to avail himself of that right. Rudolph falls on him with his victorious troops. Nothing now is able to resist him, and we see this prince, whom the electors had called to reign in the empire, without power, become in effect the conqueror of Germany.

1279 — Though he reigns in Germany, he is far from being master in Italy. Pope Nicholas III. easily gains from him that long process which so many pontiffs had supported against so many emperors. Rudolph, by a deed dated February 15, 1279, cedes to the holy see the lands of the countess Mathilda, renounces the right of paramount, and disavows his chancellor, who had received the homage in the course of this same year. The electors approve of this cession. This prince, in abandoning the rights for which they had fought so long, in effect yielded nothing but the right of receiving homage from noblemen, who never did it without reluctance. This was all he could then obtain in Italy, where the empire was no more. This cession must have been a matter of very little consequence, seeing all he had in exchange was the title of "Senator of Rome," and that for one year only.

The pope at length succeeded in taking this vain title of senator from Charles of Anjou because that prince would not match his nephew with the pontiff's niece, saying: "Although he was called Orsini,

and had red feet, his blood was not made to mingle with the blood of France."

Nicholas III. likewise deprives Charles of Anjou of the vicariat of the empire in Tuscany. This vicariat was no more than a name, and indeed this name could not subsist after there was an emperor elected.

The situation of Rudolph in Italy was — according to Girolamo Briani — like that of a merchant when he fails, whose effects are divided among other traders.

1280 — The emperor Rudolph compromises matters with Charles of Sicily by the marriage of one of his daughters. He gives that princess called Clementia to Charles Martel, the grandson of Charles of Anjou. The new-married couple were still infants.

Charles, by means of this marriage, obtains of the emperor the investiture of the counties of Provence and Forcalquier.

After the death of Nicholas III. they choose a Frenchman, called Brion, who takes the name of Martin IV. This Frenchman at first orders the dignity of senator to be restored to the king of Sicily, and is inclined to reinvest him likewise with the vicariat of the empire in Tuscany. Rudolph seems to give himself very little concern about the matter; he has business enough of his own in Bohemia. That country had rebelled in consequence of the violent conduct of the margrave of Brandenburg, who was

regent, and, besides, Rudolph had more occasion for money than for titles.

1281-82 — These years are memorable for the famous conspiracy of the Sicilian Vespers. John de Procida, a rich young gentleman of Salerno, who — and, notwithstanding his rank, exercised the professions of physic and the law — was the author of this conspiracy, which seemed so opposite to his way of life. He was a Ghibelline, passionately attached to the memory of Frederick II. and the house of Suabia. He had been several times in Aragon with Queen Constance, the daughter of Mainfroy. He glowed with impatience to avenge the blood which Charles of Anjou had spilt, but finding it impracticable to do anything in the kingdom of Naples, restrained by the presence and dread of Charles, he hatched his scheme in Sicily, which was governed by the Provençals, who were more detested and less powerful than their master.

The project of Charles of Anjou was to conquer Constantinople. The great fruit of the crusades of the West had been to take the empire of the Greeks in 1204, and they had lost it afterwards, together with the rest of the conquests they had made on the Mussulmans. The rage for going to fight in Palestine was abated since the misfortunes of St. Louis; but Constantinople seemed an easy prey, and Charles of Anjou thought to dethrone Michael Palæologus, who then possessed the remains of the eastern empire. John de Procida goes in disguise to Con-

stantinople, to warn Michael Palæologus, and excite him to be beforehand with Charles. Thence he hastens to Aragon where he has a private audience of King Peter. He received money from both these princes. He easily finds people to engage in the conspiracy. Peter of Aragon fits out a fleet on pretence of invading Africa, and keeps himself in readiness to make a descent on Sicily. Procida finds no difficulty in preparing the minds of the Sicilians.

At length, on the third day of Easter, 1282, at the sound of the vesper bell, all the Provençals in the island are massacred, some in churches, some at their doors and in the public streets, and some in their own houses. Eight thousand persons are supposed to have been slaughtered; three, nay four times the number of men have been killed in above a hundred battles, without attracting the notice of mankind. But in this case the secret so long kept by a whole people, the conquerors exterminated by the conquered nation, women and children massacred, daughters of Sicilians with child by Provençals, slain by their own fathers, and penitents murdered by their confessors, render this event forever famous and execrable. It is always said that the persons murdered at those Sicilian Vespers were French, because Provence now belongs to France; but it was then a province of the empire, and the people massacred were really Imperialists.

This is the manner in which the revenge of Conradin and the duke of Austria began. Their death

was occasioned by the guilt of one man—namely, Charles of Anjou; and it was expiated by the murder of eight thousand innocent persons.

Peter of Aragon then lands in Sicily with his wife Constance. The whole nation owns him as sovereign; and from that day Sicily remained with the house of Aragon; but the kingdom of Naples continued with a prince of France.

The emperor gives to his two eldest sons, Albert and Rudolph, at one time the investiture of Austria, Styria, and Carniola, on the twenty-seventh day of December, 1282, in a diet at Augsburg, with the consent of all the noblemen, including that of Louis of Bavaria, who had pretensions to Austria. But how could he at one time give the investiture of the same dominions to these two princes? Had they anything more than the title? Was the youngest to succeed his elder brother? or had the younger anything but the name, while the other enjoyed the lands? or were they to possess those dominions in common? These are circumstances not explained. What is incontestable is, that we find a number of deeds in which the two brothers are named conjunctly dukes of Austria, Styria, and Carniola.

There is only one old anonymous chronicle which says that the emperor Rudolph invested his son Rudolph with Suabia; but there is no document or charter by which it appears that young Rudolph ever possessed Suabia: all the grants call him, as well as his brother, duke of Austria, Styria, and

Carniola: nevertheless, one historian having adopted that chronicle, all the others have followed him; and in the genealogical tables, Rudolph is always called Duke of Suabia. If he really was, how could his family have lost that duchy?

In the same diet the emperor gives Carinthia, and the march Trevisano to his son-in-law, the count of Tyrol. The advantage he reaped from the dignity of emperor was to provide for all the branches of his family.

1283-84 — Rudolph governs the empire as well as his own family. He makes up quarrels between several noblemen and several towns.

Historians say that his labors had weakened him greatly; and that, when he was turned of his grand climacteric, the physicians advised him to take a young wife of fifteen to strengthen his constitution. The historians are bad philosophers. He marries Agnes, daughter of a count of Burgundy.

In this year, 1284, Peter, king of Aragon, takes the prince of Salerno, son of Charles of Anjou, prisoner; but is not able to make himself master of Naples. The wars of Naples no longer concern the empire, until the reign of Charles V.

1285 — The Cumans, a remnant of the Tartars, lay waste Hungary.

The emperor invests John Davennes with the country of Alost, the country of Vass, Zealand, and Hainault. The country of Flanders is not specified

in this investiture; it was become incontestably plain that it held of France.

1286-87 — To crown the glory of Rudolph, he ought to have established himself in Italy, as he was in Germany; but the opportunity was past. He would not even go to be crowned at Rome: he contented himself with selling liberty to those towns of Italy, which chose to purchase it at his hands. Florence paid forty thousand ducats of gold; Lucca, twelve thousand; Genoa and Bologna, six thousand. Almost all the other towns gave nothing, pretending they were not bound to acknowledge an emperor who was not crowned at Rome.

But in what did this gift or confirmation of liberty consist? Was it an absolute separation from the empire? There is no act of those times that expresses any such convention. This liberty consisted in the right to appoint magistrates, to govern themselves according to their own municipal laws, to coin money, and maintain troops. It was no more than a confirmation or extension of the rights obtained from Frederick Barbarossa. Italy was then independent, and as it were detached from the empire, because the emperor had little power, and was at a great distance. Time might have secured to this country the full enjoyment of liberty. Already the towns of Lombardy, and even those of Switzerland, had left off taking the oath, and insensibly retrieved their natural right of independency.

With regard to the towns of Germany, they

without exception took the oath; but some were reputed "free," such as Augsburg, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Metz; others were called "imperial," as they paid tribute; a third sort had the name of "subject," as those who held immediately of the princes, and mediately of the empire; and a fourth obtained the appellation of "mixed," because, though they held of the princes, they enjoyed some imperial rights.

All the great imperial towns were differently governed. Nuremberg was ruled by nobles; in Strasburg the citizens had the authority.

1288-90 — Rudolph makes all his daughters subservient to his interest: he matches a daughter he had by his first wife to young Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, now come of age, and makes him swear he will never make any pretensions to the duchies of Austria and Styria; but, by way of recompense, he confirms him in the office of great cup-bearer.

The dukes of Bavaria pretended to this office of the emperor's house. It seems the quality of elector was inseparable from that of a great officer of the crown; not that the lords of the principal fiefs had relinquished their right of electing, but the great officers insisted on having this right in preference to others. It was for this reason the dukes of Bavaria disputed the office of grand master with the branch of Bavaria Palatine, though this last was the eldest.

A great diet at Erfurt, in which the division already made of Thuringia is confirmed. The east-

ern continues in the house of Meissen, which is now that of Saxony; the western remains with the house of Brabant, which was heir of Meissen by the female line. This is the present house of Hesse.

Ladislaus III., king of Hungary, having been slain by the Cuman-Tartars, who still ravaged that country, the emperor, who pretends that Hungary is a fief of the empire, resolves to bestow that fief on his son Albert, to whom he had already given Austria.

Pope Nicholas IV., who thinks that all kingdoms are fiefs of Rome, gives Hungary to Charles Martel, grandson of Charles Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily; but as this Charles Martel is the emperor's son-in-law, and as the Hungarians will not receive the emperor's son as their king, for fear of being enslaved, Rudolph consents that his son-in-law, Charles Martel, shall endeavor to obtain that crown of which he could not deprive him.

This is another great example of the uncertainty of the feudal right. The county of Burgundy, that is Franche-Comté, pretended to hold of the kingdom of France, and in that quality had taken the oath of allegiance to Philip the Fair. Nevertheless, before that period, all that made part of the old kingdom of Burgundy held of the emperors.

Rudolph makes war on him, but this is soon terminated by the count's doing the homage he demanded; so that this count of Burgundy at one time held both of the empire and of France.

Rudolph confers the title of Palatine of Saxony on his son-in-law, Albert II., duke of Saxony. We must take care to distinguish that house of Saxony from the present, which, as we have said, is from the house of Meissen.

1291 — The emperor Rudolph dies at Germersheim July 15, in the seventy-third year of his age, and in the nineteenth of his reign.

ADOLPHUS OF NASSAU.

TWENTY-NINTH EMPEROR.

(After an Interregnum of Nine Months.)

1292 — The German princes, afraid of rendering hereditary that empire of Germany which was always called the Roman Empire, and not agreeing in their choice, make a second compromise, of which we have seen an example in the nomination of Rudolph. The archbishop of Mentz, to whom it was referred, names Adolphus on the same principle as that on which they had chosen his predecessor. He was the most illustrious warrior and the poorest of that time. He seemed capable of maintaining the glory of the empire at the head of the German armies, without being powerful enough to enslave it. He possessed but three lordships in the county of Nassau.

Albert, duke of Austria, disgusted because he did not succeed his father, joins against the new emperor with that same count of Burgundy who

would be no longer a vassal of Germany, and these two obtain succor from Philip the Fair, king of France. The house of Austria begins by inviting against the emperor those very French whom the princes of the empire have since so often invited against her. Albert of Austria, with the assistance of France, at first makes war in Switzerland, the sovereignty of which was claimed by his house. He takes Zurich with the French troops.

1293 — Albert of Austria excites Strasburg and Colmar to rebel against Adolphus. The emperor at the head of some troops, furnished by the imperial fiefs, appeases these troubles. A difference between the count of Flanders and the citizens of Ghent is carried before the parliament of Paris, and decided in favor of the citizens. It was very clearly acknowledged that from Ghent to Boulogne, Arras and Cambray, Flanders held solely of the king of France.

1294 — Adolphus unites with Edward, king of England, against France; but as he dreaded such a powerful vassal as the duke of Austria, he undertakes nothing. We have seen this alliance more than once renewed in the like circumstances.

1295 — A shameful piece of injustice in the emperor is the first origin of his misfortunes and fatal end. A great example to sovereigns. Albert of Meissen, landgrave of Thuringia, one of the ancestors of all the princes of Saxony, who made such a great figure in Germany, son-in-law of the

emperor Frederick II., had three children by the princess, his wife. He had repudiated her for a mistress unworthy of him, and for that reason the Germans had justly bestowed upon him the surname Depraved. Having a bastard by that concubine, he resolved to disinherit his three legitimate children in his favor. He set up his fiefs for sale in spite of the laws, and the emperor in spite of the laws purchases them with the money he has received from the king of England to make war on France.

The three princes boldly maintain their rights against the emperor. In vain does he take Dresden and several castles; he is driven from Meissen, and all Germany declares against such scandalous proceedings.

1296 — The rupture between the emperor and the king of England on one side and France on the other, still continued. Pope Boniface VIII. orders all three to agree to a truce on pain of excommunication.

1297 — The emperor had more need of a truce with the noblemen of the empire; for all of them resented his conduct. Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, Albert, duke of Austria, the duke of Saxony, and the archbishop of Mentz assemble at Prague. There were two marquises of Brandenburg; not that both possessed the same marquisate, but being brothers both took the same title. This practice began to be customary. The emperor is formally impeached and a diet summoned to meet at Eger to depose him.

Albert of Austria sends to Rome to solicit the deposition of Adolphus. This is a right which was always allowed to the pope, when it was thought it could turn to advantage. The duke of Austria pretends to have received the pope's consent, which, however, he had not obtained. The archbishop of Mentz solemnly deposes the emperor in the name of all the princes. These are the terms in which he expressed himself: "We are told our envoys have obtained the pope's consent; others affirm the pope has refused it: but without regarding any other authority than that with which we have been invested, we depose Adolphus from the imperial dignity, and elect Lord Albert, duke of Austria, for king of the Romans."

1298 — Boniface VIII. forbids the electors, on pain of excommunication, to consecrate the new king of the Romans, and they answer that it is by no means an affair of religion.

Meanwhile Adolphus, having some bishops and noblemen in his party, was still at the head of an army. On the second day of July he gives battle to his rival near Spires; the two meet in the middle of the engagement. Albert of Austria thrusts a sword into his eye. Adolphus dies fighting and leaves the empire to Albert.

ALBERT I. OF AUSTRIA.

THIRTIETH EMPEROR.

1298 — Albert of Austria begins by referring his right to the electors, the better to secure it. He is the second time elected at Frankfort, then crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbishop of Cologne.

Pope Boniface VIII. will not acknowledge him. This pope had at that time violent quarrels with Philip the Fair of France.

1299 — The emperor Albert forthwith unites himself to Philip, and marries his eldest son, Rudolph, to Blanche, that king's sister. The articles of this marriage are remarkable. He engages to give to his son Austria, Styria, Carniola, Alsace, and Freiburg in the Breisgau, and assigns Alsace and Freiburg as a jointure to his daughter-in-law, referring himself for the portion of Blanche entirely to the good-will of the king of France.

Albert sends an intimation of this marriage to the pope, who makes no other answer but that the emperor is a usurper, and that there is no other Cæsar but the sovereign pontiff of the Christians.

1300-01 — The houses of France and Austria seemed at that time closely united by this marriage, by their common hatred of Boniface VIII., and by the necessity they were under to defend themselves against their vassals; for at the same time Holland and Zealand, which were vassals of the empire, made

war upon Albert, and the Flemings, who were vassals of France, had taken arms against Philip the Fair.

Boniface VIII. who was still prouder than Gregory VII., and more impetuous, takes this opportunity to brave at once the emperor and the king of France. On one side he excites against Philip the Fair, his own brother, Charles of Valois; on the other hand he foments a revolt of the princes of Germany against Albert.

No pope ever pushed farther the madness of giving away kingdoms. He invites Charles of Valois into Italy, and appoints him vicar of the empire in Tuscany. He makes a match between that prince and the daughter of Baldwin II., the deposed monarch of Constantinople, and boldly declares Charles of Valois emperor of the Greeks. Nothing is greater than such enterprises when they are well conducted and successful; and nothing more mean when they are ineffectual. This pope, in less than three years, gave away the empires of the East and West, and laid the kingdom of France under interdiction.

The circumstances in which Germany was involved had well-nigh insured his success against Albert of Austria. He writes to the archbishops of Mentz, Trier, and Cologne: "We command Albert to appear before us in six months, to clear himself if he can of the crime of treason committed against his sovereign, Adolphus. We forbid you to acknowledge him as king of the Romans," etc.

Those three archbishops, who did not love Albert, agree with the count palatine of the Rhine to proceed against him, as they had proceeded against his predecessor; and what shows that there were always two weights and two measures, they accuse him of being guilty of a crime in having defeated and slain in battle that very Adolphus whom they had deposed and against whom he had been armed by their own consent and direction.

The count palatine actually lays information against the emperor Albert. It is well known that the counts palatine were originally judges in the palace, and judges in civil causes between the prince and subject, as is the practice in all countries under different denominations.

The palatines thought they had a right to judge the emperor himself in criminal cases. And it is upon this pretension that we shall see a palatine and a ban of Croatia condemn a queen.

Albert, having the other princes of the empire on his side, answers these proceedings with war.

1302 — The judges in a very little time ask pardon, and the elector palatine is fain to pay a large sum of money for his proceedings.

Poland, after a series of troubles, elects for its king Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia. This prince establishes some sort of order in a country where there was never any before. It was he who instituted the senate. This Wenceslaus gives his son as king to the Hungarians, who demanded himself.

Boniface VIII. fails not to pretend that this is an outrage against him, who alone has the right to give Hungary a king. He appoints to that station Charles Robert, a descendant of Charles of Anjou. One would think the emperor ought not to have accustomed the pope to give away kingdoms; yet this is what effected his reconciliation with him. He was more afraid of the power of Wenceslaus than of the pope. He therefore protects Charles Robert, and lays Bohemia waste. Authors say his army was poisoned by the Bohemians, who infected the water in the neighborhood of the camp. But this is not a very credible circumstance.

1303 — What effectually engages the emperor in the interest of Boniface VIII. is the bloody quarrel between that pope and Philip the Fair. Boniface being maltreated by Philip, and that very deservedly, at length acknowledges Albert, whom he persecuted, as lawful king of the Romans, and promises him the imperial crown, provided he would declare war against the king of France.

Albert repays the pope's complaisance with a still greater piece of condescension. He acknowledges "that the empire was transferred from the Greeks to the Germans by the holy see; that the electors hold their right of the pope, and that emperors and kings receive from him the regal power." It was against such a declaration as this that the count palatine ought to have proceeded.

It was not worth the trouble thus to flatter Boni-

face VIII., who died October 12, after he had with difficulty escaped from the prison in which he was detained by the king of France, at the very gates of Rome.

Meanwhile the king of France confiscates Flanders from Count Gui de Dampierre, and after a bloody battle remains master of Lille, Douay, Orchies, Bethune and a very extensive country, without the emperor's giving himself any trouble about the matter.

He no longer thinks of Italy, still divided between the Guelphs and Ghibellines.

1304-5 — Ladislaus, that son of the respectable Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia and Poland, is expelled from Hungary. His father — as it is pretended — died of grief for his expulsion, if kings can actually die of that distemper.

Otho, duke of Bavaria, causes himself to be elected king of Hungary, and is sent back again the very same year. Ladislaus returns to Bohemia, where he is assassinated. Thus we see three elective kingdoms vacant at once, namely Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland.

The emperor Albert causes his son Rudolph to be crowned in Bohemia by dint of arms. Charles Robert still supports his pretensions to Hungary, and a Polish nobleman, called Wladislaus Loctitus, is elected, or rather re-established, in Poland; but the emperor has no share in the transaction.

1306 — Here follows a piece of injustice which

one would not expect from a prince of ability. The emperor Adolphus of Nassau had lost his crown and life in consequence of having incurred the hatred of the Germans, and this hatred was chiefly founded on his attempt to strip the lawful heirs of Meissen and Thuringia for a sum of money.

Philip of Nassau, brother of this emperor, reclaimed the countries which had been so unjustly purchased. Albert declares for him, in hope of obtaining a share. The princes of Thuringia defend themselves, and are without ceremony put to the ban of the empire. This proscription furnishes them with partisans and an army. They cut in pieces the army of the emperor, who is glad to leave them in peaceable possession of their domains. We generally find in the Germans a strong fund of attachments to their rights; and by this alone that mixed government has so long existed; an edifice often on the brink of tumbling, yet still firm and well founded.

1307 — Pope Clement V. sends a legate to Hungary to give the crown to Charles Robert in the name of the holy see. Formerly this kingdom was in the gift of the emperors, but at this time the popes disposed of it, as well as of Naples. The Hungarians chose to be vassals to the unarmed popes, rather than of the emperors, who might enslave them. But it would have been still better to be vassals to no power whatsoever.

Switzerland held of the empire, and part of that country belonged to the house of Austria, as Frei-

burg, Lucerne, Zug, and Glarus. These small towns, although subjects, had great privileges, and were ranked with the mixed towns of the empire; others were imperial, and governed by their own citizens, such as Zurich, Basel and Schaffhausen. The cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden were under the patronage, but not under the dominion, of the house of Austria.

The emperor Albert wanted to be despotic through the whole country. The governors and commissaries whom he sent thither exercised a species of tyranny which at first produced abundance of misery, but in the end was productive of the blessing of liberty.

The founders of that liberty were called Melchthal, Stauffacher, and Walter Fürst. The difficulty of pronouncing such respectable names has in some measure injured their fame. These three peasants, being men of sense and resolution, were the first conspirators; each of them engaged three others; and those nine brought over the cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden.

All the historians allege that while they were concerting the conspiracy, a governor of Uri, whose name was Gessler, took it in his head to exercise a kind of tyranny equally horrible and ridiculous. He commanded, say they, one of his caps to be placed on the top of a pole erected in the market-place, and decreed that every person should bow to the cap, on pain of death. One of the conspirators, called Will-

iam Tell, would not salute the cap. The governor condemned him to be hanged, and would not pardon him except on condition that the convict, who was esteemed an expert archer, should bring down with an arrow an apple placed on the head of his own son. The father shot in the utmost trepidation, and was so lucky as to hit the apple. Gessler, perceiving another arrow under Tell's coat, asked what he intended to do with it. "It was intended for thee," said the Swiss, "had I wounded my son."

The story of the apple is, I own, very suspicious, and what follows is no less doubtful. But, in short, it is generally believed that Tell, being put in irons, afterwards killed the governor with an arrow; that this was the signal for the conspirators, and that the people seized the fortresses and demolished those instruments of their slavery.

1308 — Albert, being on the eve of venturing his forces against that courage inspired by the enthusiasm of new-born liberty, loses his life in a melancholy manner. His own nephew, John, improperly called duke of Suabia, who could not obtain from him the enjoyment of his patrimony, conspires his death with the help of some accomplices. He himself gives the emperor the fatal stab, while he was walking with him near Windisch, on the banks of the river Reuss, in the canton of Aargau, Switzerland. Few sovereigns have died a more tragical death, and none was ever less regretted. In all probability the deed by which Austria, Styria, and Car-

niola were conveyed by the emperor Rudolph of Hapsburg to his two sons was the cause of this association. John, son of Prince Rudolph, having in vain demanded his share, which was detained by his uncle, Albert, resolved to obtain possession by committing the crime of high treason.

HENRY VII.

Of the House of Luxemburg.

THIRTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

1308 — After the murder of Albert, the throne of Germany continued vacant for seven months. Among the pretenders to this throne, we reckon Philip the Fair, king of France; but there is no monument of the history of France that makes the least mention of this circumstance.

Charles de Valois, that monarch's brother, enters the lists of competition. He was a prince who went everywhere in quest of kingdoms. He had received the crown of Aragon from the hands of Pope Martin IV., and done him homage, and taken the oath of fidelity which the popes exact from the kings of Aragon; but all he had was a vain title. Boniface VIII. had promised to make him king of the Romans, but could not keep his word.

Bertrand of Got, a Gascon, archbishop of Bordeaux, being raised to the pontificate of Rome by the protection of Philip the Fair, promises the imperial crown to that prince. The popes could do

a great deal at this period, in spite of their impotence, because their refusing to acknowledge a king of the Romans elected in Germany was often a pretext for factions and civil war.

This pope, Clement V., acts in diametrical opposition to his promise. He underhand presses the electors to choose Henry count of Luxemburg.

That prince is the first who was chosen by six electors only, all the six great officers of the crown; the archbishops of Mentz, Trier, and Cologne, as chancellors; the count palatine, of the present house of Bavaria, as grand master of the household; the duke of Saxony, of the house of Ascania, as great master of the horse, and the marquis of Brandenburg, of the same house of Ascania, as great chamberlain.

The king of Bohemia, as great cup-bearer, was not present, nor did any person represent him by proxy. The kingdom of Bohemia was then vacant; for the Bohemians would not acknowledge the duke of Carinthia, whom they had elected, but made war upon him as a tyrant.

It was the count palatine who, in the name of the six electors, nominated "Henry, count of Luxemburg, king of the Romans, future emperor, protector of the Roman Catholic Church, and defender of widows and orphans."

1309 — Henry VII. begins by avenging the assassination of the emperor Albert. He puts the murderer, John, the pretended duke of Suabia, to the

ban of the empire. Frederick and Leopold of Austria, his cousins, descended like him from Rudolph of Hapsburg, execute the sentence, and receive the investiture of his domains.

One of the assassins, called Rudolph of Warth, a considerable nobleman, is taken, and with him begins the custom of breaking on the wheel. As for John, after having wandered a long time from place to place, he obtains the pope's absolution, and turns monk.

The emperor confers upon his son the title of duke of Luxemburg, without, however, erecting Luxemburg into a duchy. There were dukes by brevet, as we now see them in France, but they were all princes. We have already seen that the emperors created kings by brevet.

The emperor, with a view to establish his family, causes his son, John of Luxemburg, to be elected king of Bohemia. There was a necessity of conquering it from the duke of Carinthia, and this was no difficult task, as the whole nation was against the said duke.

All the Jews are expelled from Germany, and a great part of them stripped of their effects. That people, devoted to usury ever since it had been known, having always exercised that profession at Babylon, Alexandria, Rome, and through all Europe, had everywhere rendered themselves equally necessary and execrable. There was scarce a town in which the Jews were not accused of sacrificing a

child on Friday, and stabbing the host. Processions are still made in several towns, in remembrance of the hosts which have have been stabbed and shed blood. These ridiculous impeachments served as pretexts to strip them of their wealth.

1310 — The order of Templars is treated more cruelly than the Jews. This is one of the most incomprehensible events. Knights who made a vow to fight for Jesus Christ are accused of renouncing him, adoring a copper head, and of committing the most horrible debauches by way of secret ceremonies at their reception into the order. In France they are condemned to the stake, in consequence of a bull of Pope Clement V., and of their great possessions. Molai Gui, brother of the dauphin d'Auvergne, great master of the order, and seventy-four knights, in vain make oath that the order is innocent of the charge. Philip the Fair, incensed against them, causes them to be found guilty; they are condemned by the pope, who is devoted to the king of France, and fifty-nine are burned in Paris. They are persecuted everywhere. Two years after this event the pope abolishes the order; but in Germany nothing is done to their prejudice; perhaps because they were too much persecuted in France. In all probability the debauchery of some young knights had given occasion to calumniate the whole order.

Henry VII. resolves to re-establish the empire in Italy.

No emperor had been there since Frederick II.

A diet is held at Frankfort, in order to establish John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, vicar of the empire, and to provide for the emperor's journey. This journey is well known by the name of "the Roman expedition." Every state of the empire contributes a certain sum to furnish soldiers, horsemen or money.

The emperor's commissaries, by whom he is preceded, take the usual oath to the pope's commissaries at Lausanne, on the 11th of October. An oath was always considered by the popes as an act of homage and obedience, and by the emperors as a promise of protection; but the words of it were favorable to the pretensions of the popes.

1311 — Italy is still divided by the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. But these factions had no longer the same aim as heretofore; they no longer fought for the emperor or pope. It was a word of reproach, to which there was no precise idea affixed. We have seen an example of the same kind in the factions of the whigs and tories of England.

Pope Clement V. fled from Rome, where he had no power, and settled his court at Lyons, with his mistress, the countess of Perigord, where he amassed money to the utmost of his power.

Rome was in the anarchy of popular government. The Colonnas, the Orsini, and the Roman barons divide the city, and this division is the cause of the long abode of the popes upon the banks of the

Rhone; so that Rome seemed equally lost to the popes and the emperors.

Sicily remains with the house of Aragon. Charles Robert, king of Hungary, disputed the kingdom of Naples with his uncle Robert, son of Charles II., of the house of Anjou.

The house of Este had established itself at Ferrara, and the Venetians wanted to make themselves masters of that country.

The old league of the Italian towns was far from subsisting. It had been made with no other view but to oppose the emperors. But since these had left off coming to Italy, the towns were wholly employed in aggrandizing themselves at the expense of one another. The Florentines and Genoese made war upon the republic of Pisa. Besides, every town was divided into factions within itself: Florence between the blacks and the whites, and Milan between the adherents of Visconti and the Turriani.

It was in the midst of these troubles that Henry VII. at length appears in Italy. He caused himself to be crowned king of Lombardy in Milan. The Guelphs conceal the old iron crown of the Lombard kings, as if the right of reigning were attached to a small iron circle. The emperor orders a new crown to be made.

The Turriani and the emperor's own chancellor conspire against his life in Milan. He condemns his chancellor to the flames. Most of the towns of Lombardy, such as Crema, Cremona, Lodi, and Bres-

cia, refuse to obey him. He subdues them by force, and there is abundance of blood shed.

He marches to Rome. Robert, king of Naples, in concert with the pope, shuts the gates against him, ordering his brother, John, the prince of Morea, to march towards Rome with the men of arms and the infantry.

Several towns, namely Florence, Bologna, and Lucca, privately associate with Robert. In the meantime the pope writes from Lyons to the emperor that he wishes for nothing so much as his coronation; and the king of Naples makes the same profession, assuring him that the prince of Morea is at Rome for no other purpose than to establish order in the city. Henry VII. presents himself at the gate of the city Leonini, which contains the church of St. Peter, but he is obliged to besiege it before he can enter. He is defeated, instead of being crowned. He negotiates with another part of the city, and desires he may be crowned in the church of St. John of Lateran. The cardinals oppose his demand, saying it cannot be done without the permission of the pope.

The people of that district espouse the emperor's cause, and he is crowned in a tumult by some cardinals. Then he orders the lawyers to discuss the question: "Whether or not the pope can command the emperor in any case? and whether the kingdom of Naples holds of the empire or of the holy see?" His lawyers fail not to decide in his favor, and the

pope takes care to have a contrary decision by the lawyers of his own party.

1313 — We have already seen that it is the destiny of the emperors to want force sufficient to maintain their dominion in Rome. Henry VII. is obliged to quit that city. He in vain besieges Florence, and as vainly summons Robert, king of Naples, to appear before him; and no less vainly does he put that king to the ban of the empire as a person guilty of treason: "Banishing him forever on pain of losing his head." This decree is dated April 25.

He issues decrees of the same nature against Florence and Lucca, permitting the inhabitants to be murdered. Wenceslaus, in his madness, would not have published such rescripts. He orders his brother, the archbishop of Trier, to levy troops in Germany. He obtains fifty galleys from the Genoese and the Pisans. There is a conspiracy at Naples in his favor. He entertains the notion of conquering Naples and afterwards Rome; but when ready to depart he dies near the town of Sienna.

The decree against the Florentines was an invitation to take him off by poison. A Dominican, called Politian de Montepulciano, who gave him the sacrament, is said to have mixed poison in the consecrated wine. It is difficult to prove such crimes. But the Dominicans did not obtain of his son John, king of Bohemia, letters patent declaring their innocence until thirty years after the emperor's death. It would have been more prudent to have obtained

those letters at the very time when people began to accuse them of this sacrilegious murder. Here follows an interregnum of fourteen months.

In the last years of Henry VII. the Teutonic order aggrandized itself, and made conquests upon the idolaters and Christians who inhabited the coast of the Baltic. They even made themselves masters of Dantzic, which they afterwards gave up. They purchased the country of Prussia, called Pomerania, from a margrave of Brandenburg, in whose possession it was. While the Teutonic knights became conquerors, the Templars were destroyed in Germany, as in other countries; and though they supported themselves some years longer towards the Rhine, their order was at last entirely abolished.

1314 — Pope Clement V. condemns the memory of Henry VII., and declares the oath which that emperor had taken at his coronation to be an oath of fidelity, consequently the act of a vassal doing homage.

He dissolves the sentence which Henry VII. had pronounced against the king of Naples, "Because," says he justly, "King Robert is our vassal."

But the pope adds very astonishing clauses to this reason: "We have," said he, "the superiority of the empire, and we succeed to the emperor during a vacancy, by the full power we have received from Jesus Christ."

By virtue of that pretension the pope created Robert, king of Naples, vicar of the empire in Italy.

Thus the popes, who feared nothing so much as an emperor, were themselves aiding and assisting in perpetuating that dignity, by acknowledging that a vicar was wanted during an interregnum. But they nominated this vicar in order to vest themselves with the right of appointing an emperor.

The electors are long divided in Germany. It was already an established opinion that the right of voting belonged solely to the great officers of the household, namely the three ecclesiastical chancellors and the four secular princes. These officers had long possessed the chief influence. They declared the nomination by the majority of votes, and gradually arrogated to themselves the sole right of electing

This is so true that Henry, duke of Carinthia, who assumed the title of King of Bohemia, disputed, in that quality alone, the right of elector with John of Luxemburg, son of Henry VII., who was in effect king of Bohemia.

John and Rudolph, dukes of Saxony, who had each a part of that province, pretended to share the rights of elector, and even to be both electors, because both took the appellation of grand-marshal.

Louis, duke of Bavaria, the same that was emperor, head of the Bavarian branch, wanted to share the right of voting with his eldest brother, Rudolph, count palatine.

In that case, there would have been ten electors, who represented seven officers holding the seven

principal posts of the empire. Of these ten electors, five, named Louis, duke of Bavaria, who, adding his own vcte, is thus elected by a majority of one.

The other four chose Frederick, duke of Austria, son of the emperor Albert, and this duke of Austria did not reckon his own vote; an evident proof that Austria, as it did not furnish a great officer, had no right of voting.

DEATH OF MARK ANTONY

VOLTAIRE

ANNALS OF THE EMPIRE

LOUIS OF BAVARIA, 1315

TO

FERDINAND II, 1631

VOL. XVII—PART II

LIST OF PLATES

Part II

	PAGE
Death of Mark Antony . . *Frontispiece*	
Charles V.	198

ANNALS OF THE EMPIRE

FROM THE TIME OF

CHARLEMAGNE.

LOUIS V. OR LOUIS OF BAVARIA.

THIRTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

1315 — Louis of Bavaria is reckoned emperor, because he was elected by the majority; but chiefly, because his rival, Frederick the Fine, was unfortunate.

Frederick is consecrated at Cologne by the archbishop of that place, and Louis at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the archbishop of Mentz, who arrogates that privilege to himself, although the archbishop of Cologne is metropolitan of Aix.

These two consecrated competitors necessarily produce civil wars, and this is the more so because Louis of Bavaria was uncle to his rival, Frederick. Some of the Swiss cantons already confederated take arms in favor of Louis of Bavaria, and by these means defend their liberty against the house of Austria.

If the Swiss had possessed the eloquence, as they did the courage, of the Athenians, at the memorable

battle of Morgarten, this day would have been as famous as that of Thermopylæ. Sixteen hundred Swiss, from the cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, defeat a formidable army belonging to the duke of Austria, at the passage of the mountains. The field of the battle of Morgarten is the true cradle of their liberty.

1316 — Pope John XXII., residing at Avignon and Lyons, like his two predecessors, though he dares not set foot in Italy, but was obliged to abandon Rome, nevertheless declares that the empire depends on the Roman Church, and summons the two pretenders to his tribunal. There had been greater revolutions on the face of the earth, but none more singular in the mind of man, than to see the successors of the Cæsars, who were created on the banks of the Main, submit the rights which they had not over Rome to a pontiff of Rome created at Avignon. While the kings of Germany pretend to have the right of bestowing the kingdoms of Europe, the popes pretend to nominate emperors and kings, and the Roman people reject both emperor and pope.

1317 — We must imagine that Italy was now as much divided as Germany. It was still torn in pieces by the Guelphs and Ghibellines. The Guelphs, with Robert, king of Naples, at their head, adhere to Frederick of Austria ; the Ghibellines were on the side of Louis. The chiefs of this faction are the Viscontis of Milan. This house established its own power under the pretext of maintaining that of the

emperors. France already intermeddled, though feebly, in the affairs of the Milanese.

1318 — War between Eric, king of Denmark, and Waldemar, margrave of Brandenburg, who alone supports the war, unaided by any prince of the empire. When a weak state holds out against a stronger, we may be assured it is governed by a superior man.

In the course of this short quarrel, which was soon accommodated, the duke of Lauenburg is made prisoner by the margrave, and redeems himself for sixteen thousand marks of silver. From these ransoms we may nearly guess the quantity of specie which then circulated in those countries, when the princes had everything and the people almost nothing.

1319 — The two emperors consent to decide their most important quarrel by thirty champions. An old custom, which chivalry has sometimes renewed.

This combat of fifteen against fifteen, fighting man to man, was like that of the Greek and Trojan heroes. It decided nothing, and was only a prelude to the battle which was fought by the two armies after they had been spectators of the combat of thirty. Louis is conqueror in this battle, but his victory is not decisive.

1320-21 — Philip of Valois, nephew of Philip the Fair, king of France, accepts of Pope John XXII. the quality of lieutenant-general of the Church against the Ghibellines in Italy. Philip of Valois goes thither in hope of establishing some party

among so many divisions. The Viscontis find means to make him repass the Alps, by sometimes famishing his little army, and sometimes having recourse to negotiations.

Italy continues divided between Guelphs and Ghibellines, without engaging heartily either for Frederick of Austria or Louis of Bavaria.

1322 — Another battle, which proved decisive, is fought between the two emperors near Mühldorf, September 28, 1332. The duke of Austria is taken, together with his brother Henry, and Ferri, duke of Lorraine. From that day there was but one emperor.

Leopold of Austria, brother of the two prisoners, in vain continues the war.

John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, tired of the contradictions he daily underwent in his own country, sends his son to be educated in France, at the court of King Charles the Fair. He exchanges his crown with the emperor for the palatinate of the Rhine. The circumstance seems incredible. The possessor of the palatinate of the Rhine was Rudolph of Bavaria, the emperor's own brother. This Rudolph had embraced the party of Frederick of Austria against his brother, and the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, who had made himself master of the palatinate, gains Bohemia by the bargain.

It is not in every country that men may be bought and sold like cattle. The whole noblesse of Bohemia rise as one man against this agreement, which they declare void and injurious, and accordingly it was

of no effect; but Rudolph was left deprived of his palatinate.

1323 — An event still more extraordinary happens in Brandenburg. The margrave of that country, descended from the ancient house of Ascania, quits his margraviate to go in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, leaving his dominions to his brother, who dies in four-and-twenty days after the pilgrim's departure. There were a number of relatives capable of succeeding. The ancient house of Saxe-Lauenburg, and that of Anhalt, had pretensions. The emperor, in order to make all the competitors agree, and without waiting for news of the true possessor's pilgrimage, resolved to appropriate to his own family the dominions of Brandenburg, with which he accordingly invests his own son, Louis.

The emperor takes for his second wife the daughter of the count of Hainault and Holland, who brings him by way of dower these two provinces, together with Zealand and Friesland. No state near the Low Countries was looked upon as a masculine fief. The emperors did not forget their own houses while they provided for the good of the empire.

The emperor, having vanquished his competitor, has the pope still to conquer. John XXII., from the banks of the Rhone, did not fail to influence a great part of Italy, and animate the faction of the Guelphs against the Ghibellines. He declares the Viscontis heretics, and as the emperor favors the Viscontis,

declares the emperor a favorer of heretics; nay, by a bull dated October 9, he orders Louis of Bavaria to resign in three months the administration of the empire, "for having assumed the title of King of the Romans without waiting until the pope had examined his election." The emperor contents himself with protesting against this bull. As yet he could do no better.

1324 — Louis of Bavaria supports the remainder of the war against the house of Austria while he is attacked by the pope.

John XXII., by a new bull dated July 15, declares the emperor contumacious, and deprives him of all right to the empire, if he does not appear before his holiness by the first of October. Louis of Bavaria publishes a rescript, inviting the Church to depose the pope, and appeals to a future council.

Marcilius of Padua and John of Ghent, a Franciscan, come and offer their pens to the emperor against the pope, pretending to prove the holy father a heretic. He actually had very singular opinions, which he was obliged to retract.

1325 — When we thus see the popes, who are not possessed even of one town, talk dictatorially to emperors, we may easily guess that their sole aim is to take the advantage of popular prejudice and the interests of princes. The house of Austria had still a party in Germany, although the head of it was in prison; and it is only at the head of a party that a bull can be dangerous.

Alsace, for example, and the county of Messina, held for that house. The emperor made an alliance with his prisoner, the duke of Lorraine, the archbishop of Trier, and the count de Bar, in order to take Metz. The city was actually taken, and paid about forty thousand livres tournois to its conquerors.

Frederick of Austria, being still in prison, the pope resolves to give the empire to Charles the Fair, king of France. It would have been natural for a pope to name an emperor in Italy. It was thus they proceeded with regard to Charlemagne; but long custom prevailed, and it was necessary that Germany should make the election. Some German princes are gained over to the interest of the king of France, who were to meet him at Bar-sur-Aube. The king of France goes thither and finds nobody but Leopold of Austria.

The king of France goes home again, very much chagrined at his own misconduct. Leopold of Austria, finding himself without resource, sends the lance, sword, and crown of Charlemagne to Louis of Bavaria. Public opinion still attached to these symbols a certain right which confirmed that of election.

Louis of Bavaria at length releases his prisoner, and makes him sign a renunciation of the empire for the life of Louis. It is pretended that Frederick of Austria still preserved the title of King of the Romans.

1326 — Leopold of Austria dies. It must be

observed that, in spite of the laws, the constant custom was that the great fiefs should still be divided among the heirs. Thirty children would have divided the same estate into thirty parts, and all have borne the same title. All the male descendants of Rudolph of Hapsburg bore the names of dukes of Austria.

Leopold had enjoyed for his share Alsace, Switzerland, Suabia, and the Breisgau. His brothers disputed this inheritance with one another; and at length chose John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, for *austrègue* or arbiter.

1327 — At length Louis of Bavaria goes to Italy, in order to head the Ghibellines, and the pope from afar animates the Guelphs against him. The old quarrel between the empire and papacy is renewed with great fury.

Louis marches at the head of a small army to Milan, and is accompanied by a crowd of Franciscan friars. These monks were excommunicated by Pope John XXII. for having maintained that their cowl ought to be more pointed, and that their victuals and drink did not peculiarly belong to them.

The same Franciscans treated the pope as a damned heretic, for his opinion touching the beatific vision.

The emperor is crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, not by the archbishop, who refuses to perform the ceremony, but by the bishop of Arezzo.

As soon as that prince prepares for going to

Rome the faction of the Guelphs press the pope to return to that city. But his holiness dares not go thither, so much is he afraid of the Ghibelline party and the emperor.

The Pisans offer the emperor sixty thousand livres, provided he will not pass through their city in his march to Rome. Louis of Bavaria besieges Pisa, and at the end of three days compels them to give him an addition of thirty thousand livres, to stay there no longer than two months. Historians say they were livres of gold, but in that case the whole would have been equal to six millions of German crowns, a sum more easily produced in writing than in actual payment.

A new bull is published by John XXII., dated at Avignon, October 23: "We reprobate the said Louis as a heretic. We strip the said Louis of all his estate, movable and immovable, of the palatinate of the Rhine, and of all right to the empire; and we forbid all persons whatever to supply the said Louis with corn, linen, wine, wood, etc."

The emperor's heresy consisted in his going to Rome.

1328 — Louis of Bavaria is crowned in Rome, without taking the oath of fidelity. The famous Castruccio-Castracani, tyrant of Lucca, at first created by the emperor count of the palace of the Lateran and governor of Rome, conducts him to St. Peter's with the four chief Roman barons, Colonna, Orsini, Savelli, and Conti.

Louis is consecrated by a bishop of Venice, assisted by a bishop of Aleria, both excommunicated by the pope. There was little disturbance in Rome at this coronation.

April 18 the emperor holds a general assembly, where he presides, clothed with the imperial mantle, the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand. One Nicholas Fabriano, an Augustine monk, there accuses the pope, and asks "if any one present has a mind to defend the priest of Cahors, who calls himself Pope John." The order of Augustines was doomed to produce one day a man much more dangerous to the popes, namely, Martin Luther.

Then the sentence was read, by which the emperor deposes the pope. "We will," says he, "follow the example of Otho I., who, with the clergy and people of Rome, deposed Pope John XII. We depose from the see of Rome James of Cahors, convicted of heresy and treason," etc.

Young Colonna, secretly attached to the pope, publishes his opposition in Rome by fixing it to the church door, and betakes himself to flight.

At length Louis pronounces sentence of death on the pope, and even on the king of Naples, who had accepted of the pope the vicariate of the empire in Italy. He condemns both to be burned alive. Extravagant resentment often becomes ridiculous. May 22 he, by his own authority, elevates to the papal chair Peter Reinalucci, of the town of Corbiere, of Corbarie, a Dominican, and makes the

Roman people agree to his exaltation. Instead of kissing his feet, he invests him by the ring, and causes himself to be crowned again by this new pontiff.

That which happens to all emperors since the Othos, happened to Louis of Bavaria. The Romans conspire against him. The king of Naples arrives with troops at the gates of Rome. The emperor and his pope are obliged to fly with precipitation.

1329 — The emperor takes shelter in Pisa, which, however, he is obliged to quit. He returns without an army to Bavaria, accompanied by two Franciscans, called Michael of Cesena and William of Ockham, who wrote against the pope. The antipope, Peter of Corbiere, skulks from town to town.

Robert, king of Naples, reduces Rome and several cities of Italy under the domination, or rather the protection, of the pope.

The Viscontis who are still powerful in Milan, abandon the emperor, who can no longer protect them, and espouse the party of John XXII., who, though still a refugee at Avignon, seems to give laws to Europe, and actually gives them, when these laws are executed by the strong against the weak.

Louis of Bavaria, while in Pavia, makes a memorable treaty with his nephew Robert, son of Rudolph, elector palatine, who died an exile in England, and from whom the whole palatine branch is descended. By this treaty he divides with his nephew the lands of the palatine house; he restores to him the palatin-

ate of the Rhine and the high palatinate, and keeps Bavaria for himself. He stipulates that after the extinction of one of the houses of Palatine and Bavaria, which come from the same common stock, the survivor shall enter into possession of all the lands and dignities of the other; and in the meantime the vote in the election of emperors shall belong alternately to the two houses. The right of voting, thus granted to the house of Bavaria, was not of long duration; but the quarrel occasioned by this agreement between the two houses was of longer continuance.

1330 — Pope Peter of Corbiere, concealed in a castle of Italy, and surrounded by soldiers sent thither by the archbishop of Pisa, begs pardon of John XXII., who promises to spare his life, and give him a pension of three thousand florins of gold for his subsistence.

This pope, Friar Peter, goes, with a rope about his neck, and presents himself before the pope, who sends him to prison, where he dies in less than three years. It is not known whether or not he had stipulated that he should not be imprisoned.

Christopher, king of Denmark, is deposed by the states of the country, and has recourse to the empire. The dukes of Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania are appointed by the emperor to try and decide this cause between that prince and his subjects.

This was a revival of the emperor's right over Denmark, which had been extinct. But Gerard,

count of Holstein, regent of the kingdom, would not acknowledge the commission. King Christopher, with the forces of those princes and the assistance of the margrave of Brandenburg, expels the regent and re-ascends the throne.

Louis of Bavaria wants to be reconciled to the pope, and sends an embassy to him for that purpose. John XXII., by way of answer, commands the king of Bohemia to dethrone the emperor.

1331 — John, king of Bohemia, instead of obeying the pope, joins the emperor, and marches to Italy with an army, as vicar of the empire. Having reduced Cremona, Parma, Pavia, and Modena, he is tempted to keep them for himself, and with this view unites himself privately with the pope. The Guelphs and Ghibellines, alarmed at this union, join against John XXII. and John, king of Bohemia.

The emperor, dreading such a dangerous vicar, excites against him Otho of Austria, brother of that very Frederick who was his rival for the empire; so much are interests varied in a little time.

He instigates the marquis of Meissen and Charles Robert, king of Hungary, and even Poland itself. A plain proof that he could then do very little of himself. The empire was seldom weaker than at this very period. But Germany, in the midst of all these troubles, is still respected by strangers, and still uninvaded.

The king of Bohemia, on his return to Germany, defeats all his enemies, one after another. He leaves

his son Charles vicar in Italy, in spite of Louis of Bavaria, and he himself marches into Poland. John, king of Bohemia, was then the real emperor, by means of his power.

The Guelphs and Ghibellines, notwithstanding their mutual antipathy, join in Italy against Prince Charles of Bohemia. The king, his father, being victor in Germany, passes the Alps to support his son. He arrives just when that prince had obtained a signal victory near Tyrol, November 25.

He re-enters Prague in triumph with his son, and gives him the march, or marquisate, or margraviate of Moravia, for which he exacts liege homage.

1332 — The pope continues to employ religion for the success of his intrigues. Otho, duke of Austria, gained over by him, quits the emperor's party, and being cajoled by the monks, submits his dominions to the holy see, declaring himself a vassal of Rome. What a conjuncture was this, when such an action was neither punished nor abhorred!

This was indeed a time of anarchy. The king of Bohemia renders himself formidable to the emperor, and endeavors to establish his credit in Germany. He and his son had obtained victories in Italy, but they were not at all decisive. All Italy was in arms. Ghibellines against Guelphs, and both against the Germans; all the towns agreed in their hatred to Germany, and all of them made war on one another, instead of uniting to break their chains forever.

During these troubles, the Teutonic order con-

tinues still a body of conquerors towards Russia. The Poles take some of their towns; and John, king of Bohemia, marches to their assistance. He penetrates as far as Cracow. He appeases the trouble in Silesia. At that time he made all Europe tremble, being master of Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia.

Strasburg, Freiburg in Briesgau, and Basel, unite in these troublesome times against the neighboring tyrants; and several other towns join in the association. The neighborhood of four Swiss cantons become free inspires those people with sentiments of liberty.

Otho of Austria besieges Colmar, which is supported against him by the emperor. The count of Würtemberg and the king of Bohemia furnish the emperor with troops. We see on both sides an army of thirty thousand men, but this for one campaign only. The emperor was then no more than any other prince of Germany, who uses his friends against his enemies. What would have been the case, if the whole had united in order to subdue all Italy in an effectual manner?

But Germany is engrossed by nothing but internal quarrels. The duke of Austria reconciles himself to the emperor. The face of affairs continually changes, and the misery of the people continues.

1333 — We have seen John, king of Bohemia, fighting for the emperor; now behold him in arms for the pope. We have seen Robert, king of Naples, the pope's defender; now he is his enemy. The

same king of Bohemia who had besieged Cracow, goes to Italy, in concert with the king of France, to establish the pope's power in that country. Thus men are led about by ambition.

What is the consequence? He gives battle, near Ferrara, to Robert, king of Naples, united with the Viscontis and the Scalas, princes of Verona. He is twice defeated, and returns to Germany, after having lost his troops, his money, and his reputation.

Troubles and wars in Brabant, on account of the property of Mechlin, which the duke of Brabant and the count of Flanders dispute with each other. The king of Bohemia intermeddles again. A compromise is effected, and Mechlin remains with the count of Flanders.

1334 — Meanwhile the emperor Louis of Bavaria lives quietly at Munich, and seems to meddle no more with any affairs whatsoever.

Pope John XXII., being more restless, still solicits the German princes to rise against Louis of Bavaria: and the Franciscans, who sided with Michael de Cesena, being condemned by the pope, press the emperor to assemble a council to declare the pope a heretic, and depose him accordingly.

The emperor is more speedily revenged by death than by a council. John XXII. dies at Avignon, December 2, in the ninetieth year of his age.

Villani pretends that in his treasury was found the value of five and twenty millions of gold florins,

eighteen millions of which was in specie. "I know it," says Villani, "from my brother Romona, who was the pope's banker." We may boldly answer Villani, that his brother was a great exaggerator. That sum would have been equal to about two hundred millions of German crowns of these days. At that time such a sum would have purchased all Italy, and yet John XXII. never set foot in that country. In vain did he add a third crown to the pontifical tiara; he was not the more powerful on that account. True it is, he sold a great number of benefices; he invented annats, reserves, and reversions, and set a price on dispensations and absolutions. All these expedients are much more ineffectual than one would imagine, and produce a great deal more scandal than money; the exactors of such tributes generally pay but a very small share to their employers.

One thing worthy of observation is that he had some scruples on his death-bed about the manner in which he had affirmed God to be seen in heaven: but he had none about the treasures he had amassed on earth.

1335 — Old King John of Luxemburg marries a young princess of the house of France, and Bourbon branch, and by the contract of marriage settles the duchy of Luxemburg on the son of the marriage. Almost all the clauses of contracts are so many seeds of war.

Here is another marriage which produces a war, almost as soon as it is consummated. The old king

of Bohemia had a second son, called John of Luxemburg, duke of Carinthia. The young prince took the title of duke of Carinthia, because his wife had pretensions to that duchy. That princess of Carinthia, called Margaret Great Mouth, pretends that her husband, John of Luxemburg, is impotent. She finds a bishop of Freising who dissolves the marriage without formalities, and she gives herself in marriage to the marquis of Brandenburg.

Interest has as great a share as love in this adultery. The margrave of Brandenburg was son of the emperor Louis of Bavaria. Margaret Great Mouth brought him Tyrol by way of dower, together with her claim on Carinthia: thus the emperor made no difficulty of taking this lady from the prince of Bohemia, and giving her to his son of Brandenburg. This marriage excites a war that lasts a whole year, and after abundance of bloodshed the parties come to a very singular agreement—namely, that young John of Luxemburg shall confess his wife had reason to forsake him, and approve of her marriage with the emperor's son of Brandenburg. A petty war waged by the Strasburgers against the gentlemen of the neighborhood. Strasburg acts as a real independent republic, except that the bishop frequently put himself at the head of troops in order to make the citizens dependent on the see.

1336-37 — Many negotiations are begun in Germany, for the famous war which Edward III., king of England, meditated against Philip de Valois,

The business was to know who should be possessed of France.

True it is, that country, much more confined than it is at present, weakened by the divisions of the feudal government, and without any considerable maritime trade, was not the greatest theatre of Europe, though always an object of great importance.

Philip de Valois on one side, and Edward on the other, endeavor to engage the German princes in their quarrel; but the Englishman seems to have played his part better than the Frenchman. Philip de Valois has the king of Bohemia for his ally; and Edward has all the princes that border on France. In particular he has the emperor on his side; though indeed he got nothing from him, except letters patent, but these create him vicar of the empire. The proud Edward willingly consents to exercise that vicariate in hope of seeing the war against France declared the war of the empire. His commission declares that he may coin money in all the territories of the empire; nothing more evidently proves that secret respect which all Europe had for the imperial dignity.

While Edward strengthens himself with the temporal forces of Germany, Philip de Valois tries to put in action the spiritual forces of the pope, which were then of little signification.

Pope Benedict XI., still residing at Avignon, like

his predecessors, was wholly dependent on the king of France.

It must be remembered that the emperor, who never received absolution from the pope, continued still in a state of excommunication, and deprived of all his rights, in the vulgar opinion of those times.

Philip de Valois, who could do anything with a pope of Avignon, forces Benedict XI. to delay the absolution of the emperor. Thus the authority of a prince often directs the pontifical ministry, and that ministry rouses other princes in its turn. There is one Henry, duke of Bavaria, related to Louis the emperor, and still, according to custom, taking the title of duke, without having the duchy, though he possessed part of Lower Bavaria. This Henry by deputation asks pardon of the pope for having acknowledged his kinsman emperor. This meanness produces none of those revolutions which were expected from it in the empire.

1338 — Pope Benedict XI. owns he is hindered by Philip de Valois, king of France, from reconciling the emperor Louis to the church. We see how almost all the popes have been no more than the instruments of a foreign power. They frequently resembled the gods of the Indians, from whom their adorers demand rain on their knees, but when these prayers are not heard, their godships are ducked in the river.

There is a great assembly of the princes of the

empire at Ems near the Rhine, where they declare what there ought to have been no occasion for declaring, "that he who has been chosen by the majority is the true emperor; that the pope's confirmation is altogether unnecessary; that the pope is still less entitled to the right of deposing the emperor, and that the contrary opinion is high treason."

This declaration passes into a perpetual law, on August 8, at Frankfort.

Albert of Austria, at first surnamed the Counterfeit, and afterwards the Sage, one of the brothers of Frederick of Austria, who had disputed the empire, and the only one of all his brothers by whom the Austrian race is perpetuated, attacks the Swiss again without success. These people who had no riches but liberty, always defend it with unshaken courage. Albert miscarries in his enterprise; in abandoning which, he deserves the name of Sage.

1339 — Louis, the emperor, thinks of nothing but living quietly at Munich, while his vicar, Edward, king of England, engages fifty princes of the empire in the war against Philip de Valois, and goes to conquer part of France. But before the end of the campaign all those princes go home; and Edward, assisted by the Flemings, pursues his ambitious aim.

1340 — The emperor who had formerly repented of giving the vicariate of Italy to a powerful and warlike king of Bohemia, repents again of having given the vicariate of Germany to a more powerful and more warlike monarch. The emperor was the

pensioner of his vicar; and the proud Englishman acting the master and neglecting to pay the pension, Louis deprives him of the vicariate, which had become a very useless title.

The emperor negotiates with Philip de Valois. Meanwhile the imperial authority is quite annihilated in Italy, notwithstanding the perpetual law of Frankfort.

The pope by his own private authority grants to the two brothers Viscontis, the government of Milan, which they had without his confirmation, and makes them vicars of the Roman Church. They had formerly been imperial vicars.

King John of Bohemia goes to Montpellier to be cured by the salubrity of the air, of a distemper which had attacked his eyes. Nevertheless he loses his eyesight, and is afterwards known by the name of John the Blind. He makes his will, by which he leaves Bohemia and Silesia to Charles, afterwards emperor, Moravia to John, and to Wenceslaus born of Beatrice of Bourbon, he leaves Luxemburg and the lands he possessed in France in right of his wife.

In the meantime the emperor enjoys the glory of deciding as arbiter in the quarrels of the house of Denmark. The duke of Schleswig-Holstein by this accommodation renounces his pretensions to the kingdom of Denmark: he gives his sister in marriage of King Waldemar III. and remains in possession of Jutland.

1341-43 — Louis of Bavaria seems to have forgotten Italy, and gives tournaments at Munich.

The new pope, Clement VI., born a Frenchman and residing at Avignon, is at length solicited to go and re-establish the pontificate in Italy, and there completes the annihilation of the imperial authority. He follows the footsteps of John XXII. in his proceedings against Louis. He solicits the archbishop of Trier to cause a new emperor to be elected in Germany. He privately stirs up against him the king of Bohemia, John the Blind, still restless, together with the duke of Saxony and Albert of Austria.

Louis the emperor, who has still reason to fear that the want of absolution may arm the princes of the empire against him, flatters the pope, whom he detests, and writes to him, "that he submits his person, dominions, liberty, and titles to the disposition of his holiness." What expressions are these, to come from an emperor who had condemned John XXII. to be burned alive!

The princes assembled at Frankfort are not so complaisant, and maintain the rights of the empire.

1344-45 — John the Blind seems to have become more ambitious since the loss of his eyesight. On one side he wants to pave the way to the empire for his son Charles: on the other hand he makes war upon Casimir, king of Poland, for the dependence of the duchy of Schweidnitz in Silesia.

This is the ordinary effect of the feudal establishment. The duke of Schweidnitz had done homage

to the king of Poland. John of Bohemia reclaims the homage in quality of duke of Silesia. The emperor privately supports the interest of the pope, but in spite of the emperor, the war is successful to the house of Luxemburg. Prince Charles of Luxemburg, marquis of Moravia, son of John the Blind, being a widower, marries the niece of the duke of Schweidnitz, who does homage to Bohemia; and this is a new confirmation of Silesia's being annexed to the crown of Bohemia.

The empress Margaret, wife of the emperor Louis of Bavaria, and sister of John of Brabant, finds herself heiress of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland; and enjoys the succession. The emperor, her husband, ought to have been much more powerful by means of this acquisition, and yet he is not.

At this period Robert, count palatine, founds the university of Heidelberg on the model of that of Paris.

1346 — John the Blind and his son Charles make a great party in the empire in the pope's name.

The imperial and papal factions at length disturb Germany, as the Guelphs and Ghibellines had troubled Italy. Clement VI. takes advantage of these disorders. He publishes a bull against Louis of Bavaria, dated April 13. "May the curse of God," says he, "and that of St. Peter and St. Paul, light on him in this world as well as in the next; may the earth open and swallow him alive; may his memory perish, and all the elements be his foes; and may

his children fall into the hands of his enemies even before the eyes of their father."

There was no precedent for such bulls; they depended entirely on the caprice of the datary by whom they were expedited. The caprice on this occasion is a little violent.

There were at that time two archbishops of Mentz, one vainly deposed by the pope; the other elected at his instigation, by part of the canons. It was to this last that Clement VI. addresses another bull, for the election of an emperor.

John the Blind, king of Bohemia, and his son, Charles, marquis of Moravia, who was afterwards the emperor Charles IV., go to Avignon to bargain for the empire with Clement VI. Charles engages to annul all the decrees of Louis of Bavaria, to acknowledge that the county of Avignon rightfully belonged to the holy see, as well as Ferrara and the other territories — he meant those of the countess Mathilda—the kingdoms of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and Rome in particular; and that in case the emperor should go to Rome to be crowned, he should quit the city the same day, and never return without the express permission of the pope, etc.

After these promises Clement VI. recommends to the archbishop of Cologne and Trier and to the new archbishop of Mentz the election of the marquis of Moravia as emperor. These three prelates, with John the Blind, assemble at Ems, near Coblentz, July 1, and elect Charles of Luxemburg marquis

of Moravia, who was known by the name of Charles IV.

Father Maimbourg positively affirms that he bought the vote of the archbishop of Cologne for eight thousand marks of silver, and he adds that the duke of Saxony, who was richer, gave his vote at a cheaper rate, contenting himself with two thousand marks.

1. What Father Maimbourg affirms is related only as an hearsay by Cuspinian.

2. How could these secret bargains be discovered?

3. This is certainly a fine proof of the disinterested conduct of the duke of Saxony, to disgrace himself for the paltry consideration of two thousand marks only, because he is rich. The circumstance of being rich is precisely the reason for a man's selling himself at a higher price, provided he is resolved to sell himself to the best bidder.

4. Will common sense allow us to believe that Charles IV. would buy so dear an uncertain title and a certain civil war?

Although Germany was divided, the party of Louis of Bavaria is so much the stronger, that the new emperor and his old father, instead of supporting their claim in Germany, go to fight in France for Philip de Valois against Edward of England.

Old King John of Bohemia is killed in the famous battle of Crècy, won by the English, on August 25 or 26. Charles returns to Bohemia destitute of troops and money. He is the first king of Bohemia

who caused himself to be crowned by the archbishop of Prague; and it was in consequence of this coronation that the see of Prague, hitherto suffragan of Mentz, was erected into an archbishopric.

1347 — Then Louis of Bavaria and the antiemperor make war on one another. Charles of Luxemburg is everywhere defeated.

A very singular scene was at that period exhibited in Italy. Nicholas Rienzi, notary at Rome, an eloquent, bold, insinuating man, seeing Rome abandoned by the emperors and the popes, who dare not return, had been chosen tribune of the people. He reigned some months with absolute power; but the people who had raised, soon destroyed this idol. A long time had elapsed since Rome was rendered unfit for tribunes. But we still see that ancient love of liberty produce divers shocks, and quarrel with its chains. Rienzi called himself "the candid knight of the Holy Ghost, the severe though merciful deliverer of Rome, the zealous stickler for the liberty of Italy, lover of the universe, and august tribune." These fine titles prove him to have been an enthusiast, and consequently capable of seducing the lowest class of the people; but altogether unworthy to command men of spirit and understanding. He in vain attempted to imitate Gracchus, as Crescentius had before vainly attempted to imitate Brutus.

Certain it is, Rome was then a republic, though very weak, as having nothing of the ancient Roman

republic but party and fiction. All its glory consisted in its ancient name.

It is difficult to determine whether or not any times had been more unfortunate, from the inundations of the barbarians to the fifth century. The popes were driven from Rome; all Germany was harrassed with civil war; Italy was torn in pieces by the Guelphs and Ghibellines; Jane, queen of Naples, after having strangled her husband, underwent the same fate; Edward III. ruined France, over which he wanted to reign; and lastly the plague, as we shall see, destroyed a great part of those who had escaped famine and the sword.

Louis of Bavaria dies of apoplexy near Augsburg on October 11. Others allege he was poisoned by a duchess of Austria. Andrew the priest, and others pretend this duchess of Austria was the same called Great Mouth; but Andrew the priest does not consider that Margaret the Great Mouth is the very same who had quitted her husband for the emperor's son. The historians of those days must have entertained a great hatred to princes; for they cause almost all of them to be poisoned. One Hocsemius expresses himself to this effect: "The damned Bavarian emperor dies of poison, administered by the duchess of Ostrogotia or Austria, wife of duke Albert." Struvius tells us, he was said to be poisoned by the duchess of Austria, called Ann. Here then are three pretended different duchesses of Austria accused of that death without the least prob-

ability of guilt. In this manner was history heretofore written. By reading Father Barre one would believe that Louis of Bavaria was poisoned by a fourth princess, called Maultasch: but this is because in the German language Maultasch signifies great mouth or wry mouth; and this princess is that individual Margaret who was the emperor's daughter-in-law.

He named himself Louis IV. and not Louis V., because he did not reckon Louis IV., surnamed the Infant, among the emperors.

It was he who gave occasion to invent the eagle with two heads: there were two eagles in his seals; and the two heads of the eagle preserved almost always since this period, suppose two bodies also, one of which is concealed by the other. The caprice of artists has determined almost all the armorial bearings of sovereign princes.

CHARLES IV.

THIRTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1348 — Charles of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, goes forthwith from town to town, in order to get himself acknowledged emperor.

Louis, margrave of Brandenburg, disputes the crown with him.

The old archbishop of Mentz excommunicates him. The count palatine Rupert and the duke of Saxony join; not inclining to acknowledge either

pretender. They annul the election of Charles of Bohemia, and name Edward III. king of England, who had no notion of it.

The empire was now no more than a burdensome title, since the ambitious Edward refused it; not choosing to interrupt his conquests in France, to run after a shadow.

On the refusal of Edward the electors addressed themselves to the marquis of Meissen, a relative of the deceased emperor. He also declined it. Mutius says he preferred ten thousand marks of silver, received from the hands of Charles IV., to the imperial crown. This is rating the empire at a very poor price; but it is very doubtful that Charles IV. had ten thousand marks to bestow; he who was, at the same time, arrested at Worms by his butcher; a debt which he could not otherwise pay than by borrowing money of the bishop.

The electors, refused on every side, at last offer the empire, with which no persons seem willing to meddle, to Günther of Schwarzburg, a noble Thuringian. This man, who was a warrior, and had little to lose, accepted the offer, to maintain it at the point of his sword.

1349 — The electors choose Günther of Schwarzburg, near Frankfort; the too frequent double elections had introduced a singular custom at Frankfort. The first of the competitors that appeared before the place, waited six weeks and three days; after which he was received and acknowledged, provided there

was no news of his competitor. Günther waited the appointed time, after which he made his entry; much was expected from him. They pretend that his rival caused him to be poisoned. Günther becomes apoplectic and incapable of ruling; and sells it for a sum of money, which Charles never pays him. It was said to be twenty-two thousand marks. He died at Frankfort in about three months.

As for Louis of Bavaria, margrave of Brandenburg, he gives up his rights for nothing, not being sufficiently strong to sell them to Charles IV., who gets the better of the four competitors without fighting, and causes himself to be crowned a second time at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbishop of Cologne, to put the title out of dispute.

The marquis of Juliers disputes the right of bearing the sword, at the coronation ceremony, with the marquis of Brandenburg. Ancestors of the marquis of Juliers had performed that office. But this prince did not rank then with the electors, consequently not with the great officers. The marquis of Brandenburg is maintained in his right.

1350 — A plague, more memorable than that which depopulated the earth in the time of Hippocrates, was now severely felt all over Europe, and swept away almost everywhere above one-fifth of the inhabitants; the Germans, as headstrong as ignorant, accuse the Jews of having poisoned their fountains, and everywhere burn and destroy them.

What is wonderful is, that Charles IV. protected

the Jews that paid him, against the bishops and citizens of Strasburg, the abbot prince of Mourbac, and other lords; he was ready to make war with them in favor of the Jews.

The sect of Flagellants revive in Suabia; they are large companies of men who traverse all Germany, whipping themselves with cords knotted with iron, to drive away the plague. The ancient Romans in like circumstances instituted comedies; the milder remedy of the two.

An impostor appears in Brandenburg, who calls himself the ancient Waldemar returned from the Holy Land; who pretends to retake possession of his estate unjustly given, during his absence, by Louis of Bavaria to his son Louis.

The duke of Mecklenburg supports the impostor; the emperor Charles IV. countenances him. A slight war ensues; the pretended Waldemar is abandoned and eclipsed.

1351 — Charles IV. is willing to go into Italy, where both popes and emperors are forgotten. The Visconti rule in the meantime at Milan. John Visconti, archbishop of that town, becomes a conqueror. He seizes Bologna; makes war on the Florentines and Pisans, holding in equal contempt the emperor and the pope. It was he who composed the letter from the devil to the pope and cardinals, beginning: "Your mother, Pride, greets you, together with your sisters, Avarice and Immodesty."

The devil in all likelihood managed the agreement

between John Visconti and Pope Clement, who sold him the investiture of Milan for twelve years, at twelve thousand golden florins a year.

1352 — The house of Austria has always demands on a great part of Switzerland; the duke Albert intends the conquest of Zurich, which allies itself with the other cantons already confederated. The emperor assists the house of Austria in this war, like a man who wished it not to succeed. He sends troops not to fight; or rather who do not fight. The union and liberty of the Swiss are their defence.

The imperial towns incline to establish popular government in imitation of Strasburg; Nuremberg drives out his nobles, but Charles IV. restores them. He joins Lusatia to his kingdom of Bohemia; it has since been divided from it.

1353 — The emperor Charles IV., while he was the young prince of Bohemia, had gained battles even against the pope's interest in Italy. Since he has come to the imperial throne, he searches for relics, flatters the popes; employs himself in making laws, but his chief care is the firm establishment of his house.

He comes to an agreement with the children of Louis of Bavaria and reconciles them to the pope.

Albert, duke of Bavaria, saw himself excommunicated because his father had been similarly treated; wherefore, to prevent the piety of such princes as might think themselves entitled, by virtue of his excommunication, to strip him of his dominions,

he humbly asked pardon of the new pope, Innocent VI., for the injuries done to the emperor, his father, by the preceding popes. He signed an act beginning thus: "I, Albert, duke of Bavaria, son of Louis of Bavaria, formerly styling himself emperor, and censured by the holy Roman Church," etc.

It does not appear that he was forced to this servile submission; so that he must, at that time, either have had little honor or much superstition.

1354 — It is remarkable that Charles IV., passing through Mentz, on the way to his estates in Luxemburg, was not received as emperor, because he had not yet been consecrated.

Henry VII. had already given to Wenceslaus, lord of Luxemburg, the title of duke. Charles erects it into a duchy, and Bar into a margraviate. Hence it has been evidently seen how Bar comes to be held of the empire. Pont-à-Mousson is also made a marquisate. All this country is at length called the Empire.

1355 — Charles IV. goes to Italy to be crowned; rather like a pilgrim than an emperor.

The holy see was at this time situated at Avignon, Pope Innocent VI. having but little credit at Rome, the emperor still less. The empire was no more than a name, and the coronation an idle ceremony. He either ought to have gone to Rome like Charlemagne and Otho the Great, or else he ought not to have gone at all.

Charles IV., and Innocent VI., fond of ceremo-

nies. Innocent VI. sent to Avignon a detail of all that was necessary to be observed at the coronation of the emperor. He appointed the nuncio from Rome to carry the sword before him, which is only an honor, and no mark of jurisdiction. The pope is to be on his throne surrounded by his cardinals, and the emperor is to begin by kissing his feet; after which he presents him gold, salutes him, etc. During the mass, the emperor performs some duties in the rank of a deacon. He receives the imperial crown at the end of the first epistle. After mass, without either crown or cloak, he holds the bridle of the pope's horse.

None of these ceremonies have been practised since the popes resided at Avignon. The emperor at length acknowledged in writing the authenticity of these customs; but the pope, then at Avignon, finding it impossible either to have his feet kissed at Rome, or his bridle held by the emperor, declared that prince should neither kiss his feet nor guide the mule of the cardinal who represents his holiness.

Charles IV. went to this show with a large retinue, but unarmed; nor did he dare to sleep in Rome, according to the promise he had made to his holiness. Ann, his wife, daughter to the count palatine, was also crowned; and, indeed, this empty pomp was rather the vanity of a woman than the triumph of an emperor. Charles IV., having neither men nor money, and coming to Rome only to serve as deacon

to a cardinal's mass, was insulted in every town in Italy through which he passed.

There is a famous letter from Petrarch to the emperor, reproaching him with his weakness. Petrarch was worthy of teaching Charles IV. to think nobly.

1356 — Charles IV. acts in everything contrary to his predecessors; they had favored the Ghibellines, who were in effect the faction of the empire; he marches some forces against them, countenancing the Guelphs, whereby he only increases the troubles of Italy.

At his return into Germany he applied himself, as much as possible, to establish order, and regulate rank. The number of electorates had been fixed since the time of Henry VII. more by custom than by laws, but not the number of electors. The dukes of Bavaria, above all, pretending a right to vote, as well as the count palatine, the elder branch of their house; and the younger brothers of the house of Saxony believed themselves electors as well as the elder.

In the Diet of Nuremberg, Charles IV. deprives the duke of Bavaria of his right to vote, and declares the count palatine the only elector of that house.

The twenty-three first articles of the golden bull are published at Nuremberg with great solemnity. This constitution of the empire, the only one which the public calls a bull, takes its name from a little

gold box in which the seal is contained, and is esteemed as a fundamental law.

It could only be established among men by the laws of convention. Those which long custom has sanctified are called fundamental. Several things in this golden bull have been altered according to the times.

It was composed by the famous civilian, Bartolus. The genius of the times appears in some Latin verses to be found in the exordium: *Omnipotens æterne Deus, spes unica mundi:* as well as in the apostrophe to the seven mortal sins; and in the necessity of having seven electors, because of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the candlestick with seven branches.

The emperor, at first, spoke like an absolute master without consulting any person:

"We declare and ordain by this present edict, which shall continue to all perpetuity, from our certain knowledge, absolute power, and imperial authority."

He does not therein establish the seven electors; he supposes them established. There is no mention in the first two chapters about the form and security of the journey of the seven electors, who are not to go to Frankfort without declaring to the world and to Christians a temporal sovereign; that is to say, a king of the Romans, or future emperor.

They afterwards suppose, No. 8, article 2, that this custom has been always inviolably observed;

"and moreover that which is above written has been inviolably observed." Charles IV. and Bartolus forget that they had often elected emperors in another manner, beginning from Charlemagne, and ending with Charles IV., himself. One of the most important points is the indivisibility of the right of electing, which by hereditary right passes, in the male line, always to the eldest son.

It ought then to have been ordained that the secular electorates be no more divided, but descend wholly to the eldest son. This is what was omitted in the twenty-three famous articles published at Nuremberg, so very ostentatiously, the emperor attending the publication, with a sceptre in one hand and the globe of the world in the other. Very few things are attended to in that bull; neither is there any method observed, nor the particulars of the general government of the empire in the least treated of.

A most important thing is expressed in the seventh article of No. 7; that is, if one of the electoral principalities becomes vacant to the profit of the empire — undoubtedly the secular principalities are understood — the emperor has the disposal of it, as of a thing fallen legally to him and to the empire. These confused words point out that the emperor can take as his own an electorate, when the line is either extinct or attained. The particular favor shown to Bohemia is also remarkable in this bull, the emperor being king of Bohemia. It is the only country whence there can be no appeal to the impe-

rial chamber. This right *de non appellando* has since been granted to divers princes, and contributed to make them much more powerful.

The reader may consult the golden bull for the remainder.

The finishing hand is put to the golden bull at Metz; where, during the Christmas, seven chapters are added to it. They repair the inadvertent omission of making the electoral successions indivisible. That which is most clear and evident in these articles is the respect paid to pomp and vanity. It is plain to be seen that Charles IV. takes delight in making the electors officiate as menials in open court.

The emperor's table three feet higher than that of the empress; and hers three feet above those of the electors; a heap of oats lying before the door of the dining hall; a duke of Saxony coming on horseback to take a peck of oats from this heap; in fine, all this ostentation was far from resembling the majestic simplicity of Rome's first Cæsars.

A modern author says that they have not derogated from the last article of the golden bull, since all the electors speak French: yet it is in this precisely that they have derogated; for it is ordained by the last article, that the electors learn Latin and Slavonian, as well as Italian. Now few of the electors value themselves on speaking the Slavonian.

The whole bull was at length published at Metz, when there was a very full court, and the electors

attended the emperor and empress at table, each man in his function. It was not for such solemnities as these that princes did these high offices. Originally they were officers of the household, who had, in time, become great princes.

1357 — That Charles IV. was no friend to either the houses of Bavaria or Austria is plain, from the exclusion of their respective dukes in the golden bull. The first consequence of this pacific regulation was a civil war. The dukes of Bavaria and Austria raise troops. They besiege one of the emperor's commissaries in Danustaussen. The emperor arrives at that place; he can dissolve the league between Austria and Bavaria no other way but by giving up Danustaussen to the elector of Bavaria instead of the right to a vote, which he demanded.

There is a great contest in the empire on account of phalburghers, or false burghers. A contest in which it is very likely the authors have been mistaken. The golden bull ordains that no burghers belonging to any particular prince shall be received in the imperial towns, to withdraw from their sovereign, unless they become residents in these towns. Nothing is more just, nothing more easily to be fulfilled. For certainly a prince will overrule the disobedience of one of his own burghers, under pretence of his being admitted a citizen of Basel or Constance.

Why then such dissensions about these false burghers at Strasburg? Why were they in arms? Can Strasburg, by any example, support a subject of

Vienna to whom it had given his freedom, and will it be admitted at Vienna? Undoubtedly no. This is certainly one of the most important and most sacred affairs. Sovereigns would deprive their subjects of the first great right all men have, to choose their dwelling place. They fear their dominions will be quitted for the free towns. This, then, is the emperor's reason for commanding the people of Strasburg to receive no strangers on the footing of citizens; this is the reason that the citizens of Strasburg endeavor to preserve themselves in that right, which peoples and enriches a town.

1358 — Charles IV., with all this appearance of grandeur, formerly a warrior, at present a lawgiver, and master of a rich and beautiful country, has nevertheless scarcely any credit in the empire; because nobody wished he should have.

When the emperor endeavored to incorporate Lusatia and Bohemia, Albert of Austria, who has some demands on Lusatia, suddenly makes war on him, while no one person assists him: and he has no way of getting quit of this affair but by a stratagem, and that a very base one. It is pretended that he deceived the duke of Austria by spies; and that he afterwards paid these spies in false money. This story wears the air of a fable, but it is a fable founded on his character.

He sells privileges to all the towns; to the count of Savoy he sells the title of vicar of the empire at Geneva. He for a certain sum confirms the liberty

of the town of Florence; and he extorts considerably from Venice for the sovereignty of Verona, Padua, and Vicenza, but the Viscontis pay him most dearly for having the hereditary power in Milan under the title of governor. Thus it is pretended that the empire, which he bought wholesale, he sold by retail.

1359 — The princes of the empire, excited by the universities of Germany, represent to Charles IV. that in the bull of Clement V. there are many things dishonorable both to him and the Germanic body; that among others it is expressed that the emperors are the pope's vassals, and an oath of fidelity is presented to them. Charles, who had lived long enough to know these slight forms need only be attended to, when supported by force of arms, complains to the pope lest he should irritate the Germanic body; but in a very moderate style, for fear of irritating the pope. Innocent IV. gives for answer that this proposition has become a fundamental law of the Church, taught in all the schools of divinity. To back this answer, he sends a bishop of Cavaillon from Avignon to Germany to demand one-tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues for the pope's maintenance.

The bishop of Cavaillon returns to Avignon after having received strong complaints instead of money. The German clergy exclaim against the pope, and this was one of the first sparks of that revolution in the Church which we now see.

A receipt of Charles IV. in favor of the clergy,

protecting them against such princes as would prevent them from meddling with worldly wealth and bargaining with the laity.

1360 — Charles IV., while making regulations in Germany, abandons Italy. The Viscontis still continue masters of Milan. Barnaby is willing to preserve Bologna, which his uncle, a warlike and politic archbishop, had bought for twelve years.

A Spanish legate, called de Albornoz, enters the town in the name of the pope, who continues still at Avignon, and gives Bologna to the pope.

Barnaby Visconti besieges Bologna. How can one credit, at this day, that the holy father promised by agreement to pay one hundred thousand livres in gold annually, for five years, to be master of Bologna? The historians who repeat such exaggerations are certainly but little acquainted with the true value of five hundred thousand livres of gold.

1361 — The siege of Bologna is raised without being any expense to the pope. A marquis of Malatesta, who had thrown himself with some troops into the town, makes a sally, beats Barnaby, and causes him to retreat homewards. The emperor meddles no other way in this affair than by an effectual rescript in favor of the pope.

A war having broken out between the crown of Denmark on the one hand and the Hanse towns on the other is terminated as usual by treaty.

1362 — Several of the Hanse towns treat with Denmark at Lübeck, in the terms of a crowned head,

a glorious monument of liberty founded on respectable industry. Lübeck, Rostock, Stralsund, Hamburg, Wismar, Bremen, and several others, form a perpetual peace with the "king of Denmark, of the Goths, and the Vandals; the princes, merchants, and freemen of his kingdom." These are the words of the treaty; which prove that Denmark was free, and the Hanse towns still more so.

The empress Ann having been brought to bed of Wenceslaus, the emperor sends the weight of the child in gold to Our Lady at Aix, a custom which began then to be established, and has been pushed to an extravagant excess for Our Lady of Loretto.

The bishop of Strasburg purchases, at a very dear rate, the title of landgrave of Lower Alsace. He is opposed by the landgraves of Alsatia, of the house of Oettingen, and purchases his peace, as he did his title, with money.

A great division between the houses of Bavaria and Austria, caused by a woman. Margaret of Carinthia, widow of Henry the Old, duke of Bavaria, son of the emperor Louis, foe to the house into which she married, gives all her rights on Tyrol and its dependencies to Rudolph, duke of Austria.

Stephen, duke of Bavaria, makes alliance with several princes. The Austrian has no person of his party but the archbishop of Salzburg. They conclude a three years' treaty, but their secret enmity is more lasting.

1363 — Charles IV., as sedentary now as he had

been active in his youth, remains always at Prague. Italy is entirely abandoned; each lord there buys the title of vicar of the empire.

Barnaby Visconti still bears a grudge to Bologna, and is master of many towns in Romagna.

The pope, at this time Urban V., obtains very easily from the emperor ineffectual orders to the vicars of the empire. It is related that Barnaby at length sells his possessions in Romagna for five hundred thousand florins of gold to the pope; but was it easy for Urban at Avignon to find such a sum?

1364 — It is also related that Charles intended to turn the Danube by Prague; more incredible still than the pope's five hundred thousand florins. The water must be brought over the mountains, barely to make a canal from the Danube to the Moldau in Bohemia; and besides, it depends on the house of Bavaria, which commands the course of the river. Charlemagne's project of joining the Danube and the Rhine in a flat country was much more practicable.

1365 — A plague that broke out in France, amidst the terrible wars of Edward III., and Philip de Valois, spreads itself into Germany. Several vagabonds who had deserted from these armies, which were ill paid, and as badly disciplined, joining with other rogues, make excursions into Lorraine and Alsace, where they find all the passes open; they are called Malandrins, never welcome, etc. The emperor is forced to march against them on the Rhine with

the troops of the empire; they are driven thence; they ravage France and Holland, like locusts laying waste all before them, without any distinction.

Charles IV. visits Pope Urban V. at Avignon. He endeavors a holy war, rather to prevent the Turks, who had already taken Adrianople, from oppressing Christianity, than to recover Jerusalem.

A king of Cyprus, who beholds the danger more nearly, solicits this holy war also at Avignon. Several crusades had been pursued from time to time, when the Mussulmans were scarcely formidable in Syria, but now that Christianity is shaken, they are laid aside.

The pope, after having proposed the crusades with proper decorum, makes a serious treaty with the emperor for the surrender of his usurped patrimony to the holy see. He grants to the emperor the tenths upon the clergy of Germany; Charles IV. can serve himself by going to Italy to recover the proper dominions of the emperor and not to serve the pope.

1366 — The Malandrins return again on the Rhine and commit devastations even to the gates of Avignon. This is one of the reasons that oblige Urban V. to take shelter in Rome after the popes had been for sixty-two years retired to the borders of the Rhone. The Viscontis, more dangerous than the Malandrins, possess all the openings of the Alps. They had invaded Piedmont and threatened Provence. Urban having only the emperor's word for

assistance embarks on board a galley belonging to the guilty and unfortunate Joan, queen of Naples.

1367 — The emperor excuses himself from assisting the pope to be a spectator of the war made in the Tyrolese between the houses of Austria and Bavaria. And Pope Urban V., after having made some useless alliances with Austria and Hungary, gives at length a sight of a pope to the Romans, on October 16. He is received only as the first bishop of Christianity, and not as a sovereign.

1368 — The town of Freiburg in Breisgau, which had endeavored to gain its freedom, falls again into the power of the house of Austria, by the cession of a count Egnon, who had taken it under his protection; and withdraws it for twelve thousand florins.

The re-establishment of the popes at Rome does not prevent the Viscontis ruling in Lombardy, where they were near reviving a monarchy more powerful and extensive than that of the ancient Lombards.

The emperor goes at last into Italy to the assistance of the pope, and rather indeed to that of the empire. He had a formidable army in which there was some artillery.

This frightful invention began now to be established. It was as yet unknown among the Turks, against whom it had been employed. They had been easily driven out of Europe, but Christians as yet only use it against Christians.

To support the faith in Italy, the pope on one

side wins the duke of Austria; on the other, the emperor; each with a puissant army; it was this sort of conduct that lost the liberty of Italy, nay, of the pope himself. It has been the fatality of this beautiful but unhappy country, that the popes have still called in strangers to their aid, who would, if possible, have carried it away with them.

The emperor pillages Verona; the duke of Austria, Vicenza; the Viscontis immediately sue for peace, to await better times; the war ends in a sum given to Charles, who goes to Rome to be consecrated, according to the usual ceremonies.

1369 — A diet is held at Frankfort. A severe edict forbids the towns and princes from making war of themselves. The edict is no sooner published than the bishop of Hildesheim and Magnus, duke of Brunswick, having each many lords of his party, are involved in a bloody war.

It could scarcely happen otherwise in a country where the very few good laws are without force. And this continual anarchy serves as an excuse for the emperor's inactivity. He ought to hazard everything or remain altogether quiet, and he chooses the latter.

Urban V., having brought the Austrians and Bohemians into Italy, who returned home laden with spoil, now calls in the Hungarians against the Viscontis; there wanted only Turks.

The emperor, to ward off this fatal blow, reconciles the Viscontis with the holy see.

1370 — Waldemar, king of Denmark, expelled from Copenhagen by the king of Sweden and by the count of Holstein, takes refuge in Pomerania. He asks assistance of the emperor, who gives him letters of recommendation. He applies to Pope Gregory XI., who returns him exhortations, and menaces of excommunication, writing to him as to his vassal. It is pretended Waldemar answered him thus:

"My life I hold of God; my crown of my subjects, my estates of my ancestors; my faith only of your predecessors; which, if you have a mind to make use of it, I send you back by these presents." This letter is surely apocryphal.

King Waldemar re-enters his dominions without any assistance by the disunion of his enemies.

1371 — Germany, though as yet in a rustic state, nevertheless polishes Poland. Casimir, to whom had been given the surname of Great, begins to build some towns after the German fashion, and introduces some laws of Saxon right into his own country, which wants laws.

A particular war between Wenceslaus, duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, brother to the emperor, and the dukes of Juliers and of Guelders; in which all the lords of the Low Countries take part.

Nothing more strongly characterizes the fatal anarchy of these times of rapine. The subject of this broil was a troop of highwaymen, protected by the duke of Juliers: and unhappily such an example was not uncommon in those days.

Wenceslaus, vicar of the empire, willing to punish the duke Juliers, is defeated and taken in battle.

The conqueror, fearing the emperor's resentment, hastens to Prague, accompanied by many princes, and, above all, by his prisoner: "I return you," said he to the emperor, "your brother; forgive me both."

One sees many events of these times thus intermixed with robbery and heroism.

1372 — The edicts against these wars having proved ineffectual, a new diet at Nuremberg ordains that no prince or town should for the future make war before the expiration of sixty days from the receipt of the offence. This was called the sixtieth law of the empire, and was always duly observed, when more than sixty days were requisite to prepare for attacking the enemy.

1373 — For a long time past the affairs of Naples and Sicily have had no connection with those of the empire. The Isle of Sicily was at present occupied by the house of Aragon, and Naples by Queen Joan; both, at this time, were fiefs. The house of Aragon had submitted, by treaty, ever since the Sicilian Vespers, to hold it of the crown of Naples, which was held of the holy see.

The view of the house of Aragon in paying a vain homage to the crown of Naples, was to become independent of the Roman court, and had succeeded therein when the pope was in Avignon.

Gregory XI. ordains that the king of Sicily shall

henceforth pay homage to the king of Naples and the pope at the same time. He revives the ancient law, or rather protest, disabling the king of Sicily, or Naples, from ever being emperor; and adds that these kingdoms shall be incompatible with those of Tuscany and of Lombardy.

Charles abandons all his affairs in Italy; entirely taken up with enriching himself in Germany, and establishing his house. He buys the electorate of Brandenburg from Otho of Bavaria, who possessed it, to appropriate it to himself and his family. This case was not set down in the Golden Bull. He at length gives this electorate to his eldest son, Wenceslaus, afterwards to a younger, Sigismund.

1374 — The holy see had been long in Avignon. Urban V. dies when at Rome but a very little time. Gregory XI. determines to re-establish the popedom in his native country.

Such princes and towns as stood possessed of the countess Mathilda's estates enter into an alliance against the pope, who was willing to return into Italy. The most part of the towns, at length, set up their standards, and over their gates the great word *Libertas*, as it is yet to be seen at Lucca.

1375 — The Florentines begin to act in the same manner in Italy as the Athenians had formerly done in Greece. All the polite arts that were entirely unknown before revive at Florence. The factions of Guelphs and Ghibellines, during the disturbances they created in Tuscany, had stirred up genius and

courage; it was liberty elevated them. This people was the most respectable, and least superstitious, of any in Italy, and the least inclined to obey either the popes or emperors. Pope Gregory excommunicated them. It was a little strange that these excommunications, to which they had been so often accustomed, should still make some impression.

1376 — Charles has his son, Wenceslaus, proclaimed king of the Romans in Mentz, on the Rhine, the same place where he himself had been chosen.

All the electors are there in person. His second son, Sigismund, assists, as elector of Brandenburg, though but a child, the father having lately transferred that title from Wenceslaus to Sigismund. He had, for his own part, his voice of Bohemia. Five electors were then to be gained. It is said, and many historians assure us of it, that he promised to each one hundred thousand florins of gold. It is not at all likely that each received the same sum, neither is it likely that the five princes were mean enough to receive it, indiscreet enough to talk of it, or that the emperor should boast of having corrupted the votes.

So far was he from giving money to the elector palatine that he sold to him at the same time Gottenburg, Falkenburg, and other domains. He also sold, indeed at a very indifferent price, some of the royal prerogative to the electors of Cologne and of Mentz. Thus did he gain money, and spoiled the empire in securing it to his son.

1377 — Charles IV., aged sixty-four, undertakes a journey to Paris: and it is added that it was to have the consolation of seeing the king of France, Charles V., who loved him tenderly; and the reason of this tenderness for a monarch that he had never seen was his having espoused formerly one of his aunts. Another reason alleged for this journey is his being afflicted with the gout, and his having promised M. St. Maurus, a saint in the neighborhood of Paris, to make a pilgrimage to him, on horseback, for his cure. The true reason was disgust, uneasiness, and a custom established in those days for princes to visit each other. He goes at length from Prague to Paris, accompanied by his son Wenceslaus, king of the Romans. He scarcely sees a finer country than his own from the frontiers to Paris. Paris deserves not his curiosity. The old palace of St. Louis, which still subsists, and the castle of the Louvre, which is no more, are not worth the trouble of the journey. In Tuscany only they were emerging from barbarity, nor had architecture been as yet reformed.

If there was anything serious in this journey, it was the office of the vicar of the empire, in the ancient kingdom of Arles, which he gave to the dauphin. It was a long time a question among the civilians whether Dauphiny ought to be always held of the empire; but it has not, a great while since, been one among sovereigns. It is true that the last dauphin, Humbert, in ceding Dauphiny to the second son of Philip of Valois, ceded it with the same

right with which he possessed it. It is moreover true that they pretend Charles IV. himself had renounced all his rights; but yet they were not the less insisted on by his successors. Maximilian I. always claimed the dependence of Dauphiny. But this right must have been very little minded, since Charles V., in obliging Francis I., his prisoner, to cede Burgundy to him by the treaty of Madrid, makes not the least mention of the homage due to the empire on account of Dauphiny. All the sequel of this history shows how time changes rights.

1378 — A French gentleman, named Enguerant de Coucy, makes use of the emperor's journey to France to prefer a very strange request, that of making war on the house of Austria. He was great grandson of the emperor Albert of Austria by his mother, the daughter of Leopold. He demanded the estates of Leopold, as not being masculine fiefs. The emperor grants him entire possession. He never considered how it was possible for a private gentleman of Picardy to levy an army. Coucy, nevertheless, has one pretty considerable, furnished by his relatives and friends; by the reigning spirit of heroism; by some of his patrimony, which he sold, and by the hope of plunder; which engages many people in extraordinary undertakings.

He marched toward such parts of Alsace and Switzerland as belong to the house of Austria. But not having wherewithal to pay his troops, and some contributions gathered about Strasburg not being

sufficient to enable him to keep the field any long time, his army soon dispersed, and his project was at an end. The fate of this gentleman was no more than what happens to all great princes, even now, who raise forces too hastily.

Gregory XI. at length, after having seen Rome in 1377, and brought back the pontifical see from Avignon, where it had been settled seventy-two years, dies on March 27, 1378.

The Italian cardinals now prevail, and choose an Italian pope. It was Prignano, a Neapolitan, a man fierce and impetuous. He takes the name of Urban. Prignano Urban, in his first consistory, declared he would do justice to Charles V., king of France, and Edward III., king of England, who disturbed the peace of Europe. Cardinal de la Grange, shaking his hand at him, answered him that "he lied," two words that plunge Christianity into a war of more than thirty years' duration.

Most of the cardinals, irritated at the pope's violent and intolerable temper, retire to Naples, declare the election of Prignano Urban as forced and void, and choose Robert, son of Amadeus III., count of Geneva, who assumes the name of Clement, and establishes an anti-Roman see in Avignon. Europe is divided. The emperor and Flanders join the latter; Hungary, which belongs to the emperor, acknowledges Urban.

France, Scotland, and Savoy are for Clement. One may easily judge, by the side taken by each

power, that all acted upon interested principles. The name of a pope is but a word of raillery.

Queen Joan of Naples acknowledges Clement, because she had been formerly protected by France, and because this unfortunate queen had called Louis of Anjou, brother of Charles V., to her assistance.

Wenceslaus, duke of Luxemburg, dying without issue, leaves all his fiefs to his brother, and after him to Wenceslaus, king of the Romans.

The emperor Charles IV. dies soon after, leaving Bohemia with the empire to Wenceslaus; Brandenburg to his second son, Sigismund; Lusatia and the two duchies of Silesia to John, his third son.

It happens, notwithstanding the Golden Bull, that he has benefited his family much more than Germany.

WENCESLAUS.

THIRTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

1379-82 — The reign of Charles IV., which had been much complained of, and still is blamed, is an age of gold, when compared to the times of Wenceslaus, his son.

He begins by wasting his father's treasures in debaucheries at Frankfort and Aix-la-Chapelle; without giving himself any trouble about his patrimony, Bohemia, desolated by the plague.

At the latter end of the year all the Bohemian lords revolt against him. He sees himself all of a sudden beset, without daring to hope for any assist-

ance from the empire, and obliged to march against his Bohemian subjects; the rest of those banditti called Malandrins, who ranged Europe, seeking the service of such princes as would employ them, ravage Bohemia for their pay. Europe, in the meantime, is torn to pieces by the schism between the two popes. Which melancholy dispute, at last, cost the unfortunate Joan, queen of Naples, her life.

Now that there were no hopes, it was made a point of religion as well as policy to side with one of them. He was certainly wisest who acknowledged neither. Joan, queen of Naples, had unfortunately declared for Clement at a time that Urban had it in his power to hurt her. She was accused of having assassinated her first husband, Andrew of Hungary, and living then quietly with Otho of Brunswick, her present spouse.

Urban, possessed, as yet, of some power in Italy, stirs up against her Charles of Durazzo, under pretence of avenging the fate of her first husband.

Charles of Durazzo comes into Hungary to assist the anger of the pope, who had promised him the crown. What is most terrible in this affair is that he had been adopted by Queen Joan, who was now far advanced in years. He had been declared her heir, yet preferred stripping her, who had been to him as a mother, of crown and life, rather than wait till nature and time gave him the crown.

Otho of Brunswick, who fights in his wife's behalf, is made prisoner along with her. Charles

of Durazzo causes her to be strangled. Naples had, since the days of Charles of Anjou, become a theatre of wicked attempts against their crowned heads.

1383-86 — The imperial throne becomes at present a scene of horror and contempt. In Bohemia nothing to be seen but seditions against Wenceslaus. All the members of the house of Bavaria reunite to declare war against him. This is a crime by the laws. But there are no longer laws.

The emperor has no other way of assuaging this storm than in restoring to the count palatine of Bavaria the towns of the higher palatinate, which Charles IV. had seized when that prince had been distressed.

He cedes other towns to the duke of Bavaria, as Mühlberg and Bernau. All the towns on the Rhine, of Suabia and Franconia, league against him. The princes bordering on France receive pensions. To Wenceslaus remains the bare title of emperor.

1387 — While an emperor thus debases himself, a woman immortalizes her name. Margaret of Waldemar, queen of Denmark and of Norway, becomes by victories and election queen of Sweden. This grand revolution respects Germany no farther than as this heroine is fruitlessly opposed by the princes of Mecklenburg, the counts of Holstein, the towns of Hamburg and Lübeck.

The alliance of the Swiss cantons strengthens them for the present, and they grow always stronger by war. It was now some years since the canton

of Berne had engaged in this union. Duke Leopold bends his views to the taming of these people. He attacks them, and loses the battle, with his life.

1388 — The leagues of the towns of Franconia, Suabia, and the Rhine might form a people free as the natives of Switzerland, especially under a reign so confused as this of Wenceslaus, were there not too many chiefs, too great a variety of particular interests; besides the nature of their situation, open on every side, did not permit them to separate themselves from the empire like the Swiss.

1389 — Sigismund, the brother of Wenceslaus, gains some glory in Hungary. He was only the husband of the queen whom the Hungarians had called King Mary; a title they have revived, not long since, in favor of Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles VI. Mary was young, and the states not wanting her husband to govern, they committed the regency to Elizabeth of Bosnia, mother of their King Mary, so that Sigismund found himself only the husband of the princess under tuition, to whom was awarded the title of king.

The states of Hungary are discontented with the regency, and do not entirely choose to serve Sigismund. They offer the crown to Charles of Durazzo, a man used to strangle queens, who arrives and is crowned.

The regent and her daughter disguise their sentiments, watch their opportunity, and cause him to be assassinated before them. The palatine of Croatia

sets himself up to be judge of the two queens; he causes the mother to be drowned, and the daughter to be imprisoned. It is now that Sigismund shows himself worthy of reigning. He levies troops in his electorate of Brandenburg and in the dominions of his brother. He defeats the Hungarians.

The palatine of Croatia delivers up his wife, having made her promise he should be continued in his government. Sigismund, crowned king of Hungary, does not believe himself obliged to observe his wife's word, and causes the palatine of Croatia to be quartered in the town of the five churches.

1390 — During these horrors the great schism in the church increases. It might have been extinguished after the death of Urban by acknowledging Clement, but at Rome they chose one Peter Tomasselli, who was not received in Germany, because France had acknowledged Clement. He requires the annats, or first year's profit of the benefices, which Germany pays, and murmurs.

It looks as if they determined to make the Jews repay them what they had advanced to the pope. Almost all the inland trade was conducted by them, in spite of the Hanse towns. They imagined them so rich in Bohemia that they murdered and destroyed them everywhere. The same was done in many towns, and above all at Spires.

Wenceslaus, who was sparing of his edicts, issued one annulling all debts due to the Jews, imagining thus to conciliate the nobility and people.

1391-97 — The town of Strasburg is so powerful as to support a war against the elector palatine, and his bishop, on account of some fiefs. It incurs the imperial ban, and is ended for thirty thousand florins paid to the emperor's profit.

Three brothers, dukes of Bavaria, enter into compact, by which every Bavarian prince is bound henceforth neither to sell nor give up his tenure to anyone but his nighest relative; and not to dispose of it to a stranger without the consent of every member of the house. Here is a law which might be inserted in the Golden Bull, much to the advantage of the first families in Germany.

Each sovereign and each town take the best care possible of their mutual affairs.

Wenceslaus, shut up in Prague, commits many actions of barbarity and madness. There were, particularly, times in which he was quite beside himself. This is an effect of excess in eating and drinking, which attends more people than one may imagine.

Charles VI. of France was, in the meantime, attacked with a disorder of nearly the same nature, losing often the use of reason. The antipopes divide the church, and indeed Europe. By whom or how was the world at this time governed?

Wenceslaus, in one of his fits, threw the monk John Nepomuk, into the Moldau, where he was drowned, because he had refused to tell him what the queen, his wife, had confessed to him. It is said

he sometimes walked the streets attended by the public executioners, and put to death on the spot such people as he disliked. The magistrates of Prague cause him to be seized as a common malefactor, and thrown into a dungeon.

They permit him baths for the recovery of his health and senses.

He escapes with one servant maid, whom he makes his mistress. He shuts himself up in Beraun. Here was a fair opportunity for Sigismund, his brother, king of Hungary, to have himself acknowledged King of Bohemia; nor does he let it slip, but he could only get himself declared regent. He shuts up his brother in the castle of Prague; whence he sends him to Duke Albert of Austria at Vienna, and returns to Hungary to oppose the Turks, who began to extend their conquests on that side.

Wenceslaus makes another escape from his new prison, and once more reaches Prague, and, what is wonderful, finds there some partisans.

What is still more astonishing is that Germany does not interfere in the least in the emperor's affairs, neither when he is in a dungeon at Prague nor Vienna nor yet when he returns home to Bohemia.

1398 — Is it credible that Wenceslaus, in the midst of the infamy and turns of such a life, should propose a meeting at Rheims in Champagne, with Charles IV., king of France, to put an end to the scandals of schism?

And at Rheims the two monarchs meet. It is remarked that at a feast given here by the king of France to the emperor and to the king of Navarre, a patriarch of Alexandria who was present took the first place at table. It is also remarked that one morning Wenceslaus was found drunk by those who went to confer with him on the business of the church.

The universities begin now to gain some credit, because they were new, and had no authority in the church. That of Paris was the first which proposed a demission of the papacy, and the election of a new pope. And it was debated that the king of France should obtain the demission of his pope, Clement; and that Wenceslaus also should engage for his pope doing the same.

Neither of the pretenders chose to resign. They were the successors of Clement and Urban. The first was Tomaselli, who, being elected on the death of Urban, assumed the name of Boniface; the second was Pedro de Luna, a native of Aragon, who was called Benedict, and fixed his residence at Avignon.

The court of France keeps its word with the emperor, proposes to Benedict his abdication, which he refusing, is kept prisoner five whole years in his castle at Avignon.

Thus the court of France, in not acknowledging a pope during five years, showed that the church could subsist without a pope.

It was said that Wenceslaus could drink with his pope, but not treat with him.

1399 — He finds at length a spouse, Sophia of Bavaria, notwithstanding his having hastened the death of his first with ill treatment. He is not known to relapse into any of his fits of frenzy after this match, and minds nothing but, like his father, Charles IV., heaping up money. He sells everything, and at last disposes of the emperor's title to Lombardy unto Galeazo Visconti, declaring it, according to some authors, entirely independent of the empire, for one hundred and fifty thousand golden crowns. No law prevents the emperor from these alienations. Had there subsisted any, Visconti would never have hazarded so considerably.

The ministers of Wenceslaus, who pillage Bohemia, incline to levy exactions on the province of Meissen, about which complaints are made to the electors, and straightway these princes, who had taken no steps against Wenceslaus when he was made, assemble to depose him.

After many assemblies of electors, princes, and deputies of towns, a solemn diet is held at Landstein, near Mentz. The three ecclesiastical electors, together with the palatine, formally depose the emperor in the presence of many princes, who only assist as witnesses. The electors having the sole right of choosing, draw from it the necessary conclusion of their having the sole right of vacating. They revoke the alienations that had been purchased

from the emperor; but this makes not Visconti less absolute from Piedmont to the gates of Venice.

The act of deposing Wenceslaus bears date of August 20, in the morning. The electors a few days after choose for emperor Frederick, duke of Brunswick, who is assassinated by a count Waldeck, while preparing for his coronation.

ROBERT,

COUNT PALATINE OF THE RHINE.

THIRTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1400 — Robert, count palatine of the Rhine, is elected at Rens by the same four electors. His election could not possibly have been on August 22, as has been asserted, because Wenceslaus was deposed on August 20, and there must certainly have been more than two days consumed in choosing the duke of Brunswick, preparing for his coronation, and assassinating him.

Robert, according to custom, presents himself armed at the gates of Frankfort, and makes his entry there at the end of six weeks and three days. This is the last example we have of this custom.

1401 — Some princes and towns still hold out for Wenceslaus, as a few Romans regretted Nero. The magistrates of the free town of Aix-la-Chapelle shut their gates against Robert, who wanted to be crowned there. He remains at Cologne with the archbishop.

To gain the Germans he is willing to recover the

Milanese for the empire, from which Wenceslaus had divided it. He forms an alliance with the towns of Switzerland and Suabia, as if he was only the prince of the empire, and raises troops against Visconti. The circumstance of things was favorable. Venice and Florence were already arming against the formidable power of his new duke of Lombardy.

Being in Tyrol, he sent a challenge to Galeazo, beginning: "To John Galeazo, count of Verona," to which was answered: "To you, Robert of Bavaria, we, duke of Milan, by the grace of God, and of Wenceslaus," etc. After which he promises to beat him, and keeps his word, in the defiles of the mountains.

Several princes, who had accompanied the emperor, retire with their few remaining soldiers, and Robert at length wanders away alone.

1402-3 — John Galeazo remains master of all Lombardy, and protector of the neighboring towns, in spite of them. He dies, leaving, among other children, one daughter, married to the duke of Orleans, the source of so many unhappy wars.

Upon his death one of the popes, Boniface, who was neither firmly settled in Rome, nor acknowledged by half Europe, makes a successful use of the hatred which the conquests of John Galeazo had inspired, and possesses himself, by his intrigues, of Bologna, Perusia, Ferrara, and of many towns of the ancient inheritance of the countess Mathilda, which the holy see had always claimed.

Wenceslaus, awaking from his lethargy, takes it in his head at last to defend the imperial crown against Robert. They mutually accept of the king of France's mediation, whom the electors pray to come to pronounce judgment between Wenceslaus and Robert at Cologne, where both should be present, and submit themselves to him.

Very likely the electors asked the king of France's judgment because they knew he was not in a condition to give it. The return of this malady hindered him from governing his own dominions. Could he then come to decide between two emperors?

The deposed Wenceslaus has now some hopes from his brother, Sigismund, king of Hungary, who, by a whimsical chance, is himself dethroned, and imprisoned in his own kingdom.

The Hungarians chose Ladislaus, king of Naples, for their king, who scarcely arrives on the frontiers of Hungary before Naples revolts, and he returns to extinguish the rebellion.

Let us here draw a picture of Europe. One sees her divided by two popes; Germany rent by two emperors; the disagreement in Italy after Visconti's death; the Venetians possessing themselves of one part of Lombardy; the Genoese of another; Pisa subject to Florence; horrible troubles in France during the madness of the king; civil wars in England; the best provinces in Spain overrun by the Moors; the Turks advancing towards Greece, and

the empire of Constantinople drawing towards a conclusion.

1404 — Robert, nevertheless, purchases some little territories surrounding his palatinate; the bishop of Strasburg sells his Osnabrück, Celle, and other seigniories. This is almost all that remains to him of the empire.

The duke of Orleans, brother to Charles VI., buys the duchy of Luxemburg from Joshua, marquis of Moravia, to whom Wenceslaus had sold it. Sigismund had disposed also of his right to the homage of it. Thus the duchies of Luxemburg and Milan are, by their new possessors, looked upon as detached from the empire.

1405 — The new dukes of Luxemburg and of Lorraine go to war without the empire's siding with either. Had things continued thus a few years longer, there had been neither empire nor Germanic body.

1406 — The marquis of Baden and the count of Würtemberg make with impunity a league with Strasburg and the towns of Suabia against the imperial authority. The purport of the treaty was "that in case the emperor presumed to meddle with the rights of any of them, they should unitedly make war upon him."

The Swiss strengthen themselves daily. The electors ravage the dominions of the house of Austria in Sundgau and in Alsace.

1407-8 — While the imperial authority daily

declines, the schism of the church continues. No sooner than one antipope dies, his party sets up another. These scandals would have made all people shake off the yoke of Rome had they been more reasonable and spirited, and had not the princes always had it in their heads to have a pope of their party, that they might have something of the arms of religion wherewith to oppose their enemies. This is the real reason of the many leagues that have been known between the see of Rome and many kings; of so many contradictions, excommunications demanded privately by some, and despised by others.

The church began already to dread learning, wit, and the polite arts. They had travelled from the court of Robert, king of Naples, to Florence, where they had erected their empire. The growing emulation of the university began to clear up some knotty points. One-half of Italy was at enmity with popes. Nevertheless, the Italians, more prudent than other nations, never established any sect against the church. They often made war upon the Roman court, but never on the Roman church. The Albigenses and the Vaudois had now begun to appear near the frontiers of France. Wycliffe rose up in England. John Huss, a doctor of the new university of Prague, and confessor to the queen of Bohemia, wife of Wenceslaus, having read Wycliffe's manuscripts, preached up his opinions at Prague. Rome did not expect even the first rays of erudition

coming from a country which she had so long styled barbarous. The doctrine of John Huss consisted chiefly of giving to the church certain rights, which the holy see pretended to reserve to herself.

The times are favorable. There has been, ever since the birth of schism, a succession of antipopes on each side, and it was extremely difficult to know on which side was the Holy Ghost.

The ecclesiastical throne being thus split in two, each half is confused and bloody. The same fate attends thirty episcopal sees. A bishop, confirmed by one pope, disputes his cathedral, sword in hand, with one approved of by another.

At Liège, for example, there are two bishops who stir up a bloody war. John of Bavaria, chosen by a part of the chapter, contends with one elected by another part, and as the opposed popes had only bulls to bestow, John of Bavaria calls to his aid John, duke of Burgundy, with an army. In fine, to settle which shall have the cathedral of Liège, the town is sacked and almost reduced to ashes.

So many evils, which in general it is impossible to remedy until they come to extremes, at last produce the Council of Pisa, whither several cardinals retiring, summon the rest of the church. This council is afterwards transferred to Constance.

1409 — If there was a possibility of extinguishing the schism which had so long raged over Christian Europe, in a legal and canonical manner, it was by the authority of this council.

Two antipopes, the successors of two antipopes lend their names to this civil and sacred war. One is the fierce Peter de Luna, the other Corrario, a Venetian.

The Council of Pisa declares them both unworthy of the papal throne. Twenty-four cardinals, with the consent of the council, choose Philargi, a native of Candia, on June 17, 1409. Philargi, the lawful pope, dies in about ten months. All the cardinals that are now in Rome unanimously elect Balthazar Cossa, who assumes the name of John XXIII. He had been brought up in the church and in arms. Being made a deacon from a pirate, he had distinguished himself in his progress on the coast of Naples in favor of Urban. He had, some time since, purchased, at a very dear rate, a cardinal's hat, and a mistress named Catharine, whom he carried off from her husband. At the head of a small army he recovered Bologna from the Visconti. He was a soldier without morals, but, nevertheless, he was a pope canonically elected.

The schism seems now to be ended by the laws of the church, but the politics of certain princes give it still a being, if we can call by the name of politics that spirit of jealousy, of intrigue, of rapine, of fear, and of expectation which sets the world in a flame.

A diet was assembled in Frankfort, in 1409, at which the emperor presides, and is attended by ambassadors from the kings of France, England

and Poland. And what ensues? The emperors support one faction of antipopes, and France another; the emperor and empire believing the right of assembling councils to be theirs. The Diet of Frankfort treats the Council of Pisa as an unlawful assembly, and demands a regular council. Thus it happened that the Council of Pisa, when they imagined everything settled, had instead thereof left Europe three popes for two.

The canonical pope was John XXIII., chosen solemnly at Rome. The two others were Corrario and Peter de Luna. Corrario wandered about from town to town. Peter de Luna was, by order of the court of France, shut up in Avignon, where, without acknowledging him, they kept this phantom to produce on occasion in opposition to others in the same business.

1410 — While Europe is thus disturbed by popes, a bloody war breaks out between Poland and the Teutonic knights-masters of Prussia, about some boats laden with corn. These knights, instituted at first to serve the Germans in their hospitals, were at length become a militia something like the Mamelukes.

The knights are defeated. They lose Thorn, Elbing, and many other towns, which remain in the hands of Poland.

The emperor Robert dies May 10, at Oppenheim. Wenceslaus still calls himself emperor, without performing any of the imperial functions.

JOSHUA.

THIRTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

1410 — Wenceslaus was no more emperor, except in Prague among his domestics. Sigismund, his brother, claims the empire. Joshua, margrave of Brandenburg and Moravia, his cousin, also demands it. Joshua not only disputes the empire with his cousin, but Brandenburg also.

The elector palatine Louis, eldest son to the last emperor Robert, the archbishop of Trier, and the ambassadors of Sigismund, name Sigismund emperor at Frankfort.

Mentz, Cologne, the Saxon ambassador, and a deputy from Brandenburg in favor of Joshua, elect Joshua in the same town.

Wenceslaus at Prague protests against these two elections. Germany has now three emperors, as well as the church three popes, without either in reality having one.

SIGISMUND.

KING OF BOHEMIA AND OF HUNGARY, MARGRAVE OF BRANDENBURG.

1411 — By the death of Joshua three months after his election, Germany is delivered from a civil war, which he would not have been able by himself to support, but which would have been carried on in his name.

Sigismund is emperor both nominally and effectually. This election is confirmed by all the electors on July 21.

The towns at that time had no bishops but by the decision of battle, for in the canvassing elections, John XXIII. approved one bishop, and Corrario another, produced a civil war, which happened at Cologne as well as at Liège. The archbishop Theodoric, of the house of Mœurs, does not take possession of his see till he had defeated his competitor, who was of the house of Berg, in a bloody battle.

The Teutonic knights take up arms against Poland. They are so formidable, that Sigismund leagues privately with Poland against them. Poland at length cedes Prussia to the knights, and the grand master becomes insensibly a considerable sovereign.

1412 — The great schism of the West is in some measure an embarrassment to Sigismund. He sees himself king of Hungary, margrave of Brandenburg, and emperor; titles he would willingly confirm to his posterity. The Venetians, having aggrandized themselves much, had, in the time of a crusade, conquered part of Dalmatia. He defeats them at Frial and joins that part of Dalmatia to Hungary.

On the other hand Ladislaus, or Lancelot, that king of Hungary whom he had expelled, makes himself master of Rome, and of all the country to Florence. Pope John XXIII. had at first, like his predecessors, called him in to his defense, and by that

means given himself a dangerous master, fearing he should have found one in Sigismund. This forced step of John soon cost him the pontifical chair.

1413 — John XXIII., to extirpate schism and confirm his own election, transfers the remainder of the Council of Pisa to Rome, where he ought to have had more strength. The emperor convokes a council at Constance to destroy the pope. One sees few Italian popes that are easily duped. This one was entirely duped, both by Sigismund and the king of Naples, Ladislaus, or Lancelot. This prince, now master of Rome, became his enemy, and the emperor still more so. The emperor writes to the antipopes, to Peter de Luna, now at Aragon, and to Corrario, who had taken refuge at Rimini; but both these fugitive popes protest against the Council of Constance.

Lancelot dies. The pope, delivered from one of his masters, ought not to have put himself into the hands of another. He goes to Constance, hoping the protection of Frederick, duke of Austria, inheritor of the Austrian hatred to the house of Luxemburg. This prince in his turn, protected by the pope, accepts of him, *in partibus,* the title of General of the Troops of the Church, and with it a pension of six thousand golden florins, as vain as his commission. The pope unites himself also to the marquis of Baden, and some other princes. At last he enters Constance, October 28, attended by nine cardinals, in great state.

In the meantime Sigismund is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and all the electors assist at the imperial feast in their proper stations.

1414 — Sigismund arrives at Constance on Christmas day, the duke of Saxony carrying the sword of the empire naked before him. The burgrave of Nuremberg, whom he had made governor of Brandenburg, bearing the sceptre. The golden globe was borne by his step-father, the count of Cilli, this not being an electoral office. The pope attended at church, where the emperor assists at mass in quality of deacon. He reads the gospel, but no feet are kissed, no stirrup is held, nor is there a horse led by the bridle. The pope presents him with a sword. There were three thrones erected; one for the emperor, one for the pope and one for the empress, the emperor being in the middle.

1415 — John XXIII. promises to resign the papal chair in case the antipopes should also quit theirs, and provided, "that his resignation every way appeared to contribute to the utility and welfare of the church." This last clause ruined him. He was either forced to this declaration, or the business of a pirate had spoiled him for a pope. Sigismund kissed John's feet as soon as John had read him the particular form. And this lost him the papacy.

Sigismund is easily master of the council by surrounding it with soldiers. Here he appeared in all his glory. There were present the electors of Saxony, of Mentz, and the elector palatine; the gov-

ernor of Brandenburg; the dukes of Bavaria, Austria, and Silesia; one hundred and eight counts; two hundred barons, who at this time were something, and twenty-seven ambassadors, who there represented their sovereigns. They vied in luxury, and magnificence, as may be easily inferred by the number of jewellers, being five hundred, who came at this time to Constance. There were also reckoned five hundred musicians, and, what the customs of these times make very credible, there were seven hundred and eighteen courtesans protected by the magistrate of the town.

The pope is obliged to fly in the disguise of a postilion to the territories of John of Austria, count of Tyrol. This prince is forced to deliver up the pope, and to ask the emperor's pardon on his knees.

Whilst the pope is prisoner in a castle belonging to his protector, the duke of Austria, they prepare his process. He is accused of every crime, deposed on May 29, and the council, by the sentence, reserves to itself the right of punishing him.

July 6, of the same year, 1415, John Huss, confessor to the queen of Bohemia, and doctor in divinity, is burned alive by sentence of the fathers of the council, notwithstanding a very formal protection that Sigismund had granted him. The emperor delivers him into the hands of the elector palatine, who gives him up to execution, he continuing to praise God till his life was stifled by the flames.

These are the principal propositions for which he

was condemned to this horrid punishment: "That there is but one Catholic church, which contains in her bosom all the chosen." "That temporal lords ought to oblige priests to observe the law, and that a pope is not the vicar of Jesus Christ."

"Do you believe the universal *a parte rei?*" says a cardinal to him. "I believe the universal *a parte mentis,*" answered John Huss. "You don't believe in the real presence, then!" cried the cardinal. It is manifest that they intended to burn John, and they did it.

1416 — Sigismund, after the condemnation of the pope and of John Huss, taken up with the glory of extirpating schism, prevails on the kings of Castile, of Aragon, and Navarre, at Narbonne, to renounce their obedience to Peter de Luna.

He goes thence to Chambéry, in order to erect Savoy into a duchy, and gives the investiture of it to Amadeus VIII.

He goes to Paris, sits in the king's place, in the parliament, where he makes a knight. It is said that this was too much and that the parliament was blamed for having allowed it. Why so? If the king had given him his place he ought also to approve of his conferring an honor which was barely titular.

He goes from Paris to London. He is received at the landing by the nobility, who advance in the water sword in hand to meet him, to do him honor, and at the same time to admonish him that he was

not to act as master. This is an acknowledgment of the right which he has, in the opinion of some people, to the great name of Cæsar.

He said that he came to London to negotiate a peace between France and England. It was in those most unhappy times of the French monarchy that the English king, Henry V., insisted upon France by conquest and inheritance.

The emperor, instead of making peace, joins England against unhappy France. He has some advantage in Hungary. The Turks, who had ravaged the empire of the Caliphs and threatened Constantinople, overran the earth even from India to Greece. They laid waste Hungary and Austria, but as yet these were but the incursions of a band of robbers. Troops are sent against them, and they retreat.

Whilst Sigismund is on his voyage, the council, after having burned John Huss, search out another victim in the person of Jerome of Prague. Jerome of Prague, a disciple of John Huss, was greatly his superior in wit and eloquence. He had at first subscribed to the condemnation of his master, but was afterwards ashamed of it. He looked upon this recantation as his only crime, and submitted to death with the same intrepidity on June 1, 1416. Poggio, the Florentine, secretary to John XXIII., and one of the restorers of letters, who was present at the trial and punishment of Jerome, says that he spoke with the eloquence of Socrates, and braved the flames as Socrates drank hemlock.

Socrates, indeed, and these two Bohemians, were condemned because they were hated by the sophists of their respective times. But what a difference between the manners of the Athenians and those of the Christians of the fifteenth century! between the mild death of Socrates and the dreadful punishment of fire, into which priests are cast by priests!

The popes, having pretended to judge of princes, and to depose them when they could, the council, without a pope, imagined they had the same rights. Frederick of Austria, having taken some towns near Tyrol, which the bishop of Trent, whom he kept prisoner, reclaimed, the council order him to give up the bishop and the towns under penalty of being deprived, not only himself, but his children and grandchildren, of all the fiefs of the church and of the empire. This Frederick of Austria, sovereign of Tyrol, flies from Constance. His brother Ernest seizes on Tyrol, and the emperor puts Frederick under the imperial ban. Matters are made up about the end of the year. Frederick is reinstated in Tyrol, and his brother Ernest keeps in Styria, which was his portion; but the Swiss, who had seized some towns belonging to the duke of Austria, refused to give them up, and strengthened their league.

1417 — The emperor returns to Constance, where, with great pomp, he gives the investiture of Mentz, Saxony, Pomerania, and other principalities, an investiture which must be taken at every change of an emperor or of a vassal.

He sells his electorate of Brandenburg to Frederick of Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nuremberg, for four hundred thousand golden florins, which the burgrave had amassed, and which in those times was a very considerable sum. Some authors say it was only one hundred thousand, and are the more credible.

Sigismund, by contract, reserves to himself the right of repurchasing Brandenburg for the same sum, in case he should have children.

In the sentence pronounced by the council in the presence of the emperor against Pope Peter de Luna, he is declared perjured, a disturber of the public peace, a heretic, forsaken of God, and obstinate. The title of obstinate was the only one that he truly merited among them.

The emperor proposes to the council to reform the church before they create a pope. Many prelates exclaim against him as a heretic, and they make a pope without reforming the church.

Twenty-three cardinals and thirty-three prelates of the council, deputies of different nations, assemble in a conclave. This is the only example we have of other prelates, besides cardinals, having a right to vote since the sacred college had reserved to itself the election of popes; for Gregory III. was chosen by the voice of the people.

On November 11, Otho of Colonna is chosen, who changes that great name to Martin. The consecration of this pope was above all others august. The

reins of his horse, as he went to church, was held by the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg. He was followed by one hundred princes, the ambassadors of all the kings, and by the entire council.

1418 — In the midst of this great provision of the council, and such apparent pains to restore peace to the church, and the empire to its dignity, how was Sigismund principally employed? In amassing money.

Not content with having sold his electorate of Brandenburg, he hastened, during the holding of the council, to sell, for his own use, some towns that had been confiscated, to Frederick of Austria. The agreement made, restitution ought to have ensued; the delay of which, and his continual want of money, tarnished his glory.

The new pope, Martin V., declares Sigismund king of the Romans, by supplying the defects of formality which are found in his election of Frankfort.

The pope having promised to labor for the reformation of the church, publishes some constitutions respecting the revenues of the apostolical chamber, and the habits of the clergy.

He grants to the emperor a tenth of the ecclesiastical income in Germany, during one year, to indemnify him for the expenses of council, and Germany murmurs at it.

The troubles are appeased this year in Holland, Brabant, and Hainault. All that is important for

history to remark is that Sigismund acknowledges the province of Hainault not to be held of the empire. Another emperor may afterwards admit the contrary. Hainault another time was, as has been seen, held for a little while of the bishop of Liège.

As feudal right is not a natural right, it being no more than pretension to land cultivated by another, but not the possession of a land which we cultivate ourselves, it has been the subject of a thousand undetermined disputes.

1419 — Very great troubles kindle in Bohemia. The ashes of John Huss and Jerome of Prague excite commotions.

The partisans of these two unfortunate men endeavored to maintain their doctrine and avenge their death. The celebrated John Ziska puts himself at the head of the Hussites, and endeavors to make use of the opportunity given him, by the weakness of Wenceslaus, the fanaticism of the Bohemians, and the growing hatred of the people to the clergy, in order to form a powerful party, and establish himself a government.

Wenceslaus dies in Bohemia almost forgotten. Sigismund has the empire now entirely to himself. He is king of Hungary and Bohemia, and lord paramount of Silesia. Had he not disposed of his electorate of Brandenburg he might have founded the most powerful house in Germany.

1420 — It is against this puissant emperor, that John Ziska rises, who makes war on him in his

hereditary dominions. The monks were oftenest victims in this war, and with their blood paid the cruelty of the fathers of Constance.

John Ziska inflames all Bohemia. There were at this time great troubles in Denmark, on account of the duchy of Schleswig. King Eric seizes this duchy; but the wars of the Hussites are much more important, and more nearly concern the empire.

Sigismund besieges Prague, John Ziska puts him to the rout, and obliges him to raise the siege. A priest marches with him at the head of the Hussites, who bears a chalice in his hand, as a mark of acting in a double capacity.

A month after, John Ziska beats the emperor again. This war continued sixteen years; had not the emperor violated his own protection, so many misfortunes would never have happened.

1421 — There had been now for many years no crusades but against Christians. Martin V. caused the Hussites to be preached against in Germany, instead of granting the communion with wine.

A bishop of Trier marched at the head of an army of holy men against John Ziska, who having with him little more than two hundred men, cuts them in pieces. The emperor marches again towards Prague, and is again beaten.

1422 — Coribut, prince of Lithuania, joins Ziska, in hope of becoming king of Bohemia. Ziska, who really merited to be so, threatens to leave Prague.

The word Ziska signifies Blind in the Slavonian

tongue, and thus they called the warrior, as Horatius had formerly been named Cocles. He really merited the title of blind, having lost both his eyes; and this John the Blind was quite a different sort of man from the other John the Blind, who was father to Sigismund. He believed there was a possibility of his reigning, notwithstanding that he had lost his eyes, while he could conquer and be head of a party.

1423 — The emperor, driven out of Bohemia by the avengers of John Huss, had recourse to his old stratagem of selling provinces. He sold Moravia to Albert, duke of Austria; this was disposing of what the Hussites possessed. Procopius the Shaven, because he was a priest, a very great warrior, becoming the eye and the arm of John Ziska, defends Moravia against the Austrians.

1424 — Ziska the Blind supports himself not only against the emperor, but against Coribut, who, from his defender, has become his rival. He routs Coribut, after having defeated the emperor.

Sigismund might nevertheless have profited by this civil war amongst his enemies, but he is engaged at the same time at a wedding. He assists at the nuptials of a king of Poland at Presburg, with great state, while Ziska drives out his rival Coribut, and enters Prague in triumph.

Ziska dies in the army, of a contagious disorder. Nothing is better known than the disposal he is pretended to have made of his body on his death-bed. "Let me be left," says he, "in the open field. I had

rather be eaten by birds than by worms. Let a drum be made of my skin. The very sound of it will put our enemies to flight."

His party does not die with him. It has been formed by Fanaticism, and not by Ziska. Procopius, the Shaven, succeeds to his government and reputation.

1425-26 — Bohemia is divided into many factions, but all unite against the emperors, who cannot repair the ruins of this country. Coribut returns and is declared king. Procopius makes war at the same time with the usurper and with Sigismund.

In fine, the empire furnishes an army of a hundred thousand men to the emperor, and this army is entirely defeated. They say that the soldiers of Procopius, who were called Taborites, used two-edged axes in this battle, and that by this novelty they gained the victory.

1427 —While the emperor Sigismund is driven out of Bohemia, and the embers of John Huss set this country, Moravia and Austria, in a flame, the wars between the king of Denmark and Holstein continue. Lübeck, Hamburg, Wismar, and Stralsund, declare against him. And what was the authority of the emperor Sigismund? He sides with Denmark, he writes to the towns to induce them to lay down their arms, and they pay no attention to him. He seems to have lost his credit, not only as king of Bohemia, but also as an emperor.

He marches once more an army into his own

country, and this army is again beaten by Procopius. Coribut, who calls himself king of Bohemia, is put into a convent by his own party, and the emperor has no longer any friends in Bohemia.

1428 — It is plain that Sigismund was badly succored by the empire, and that he could not raise men in Hungary. He was burdened with titles and misfortunes. At length he opens a conference at Presburg, to make a peace with his subjects. The party named the Orphans, who were the most powerful at Prague, will listen to no accommodation, but answer that a free people have no business with a king.

1429-30 — Procopius the Shaven, at the head of an army of his brethren, not unlike that which Cromwell afterwards formed, followed by the Orphans, the Taborites, and the priests, who carried the chalice, continued to beat the imperialists. Meissen, Lusatia, Silesia, Moravia, Austria, and Brandenburg, are laid waste. A great revolution was now to be feared. Procopius makes use of his baggage by way of intrenchment against the German cavalry, with success. These intrenchments were called Tabors; he goes on with these Tabors, and penetrates to the confines of Franconia. The princes of the empire, involved in wars among themselves, could not oppose these irruptions. What has the emperor then to do? He had not known what it was to hold a council, and admit the burning of a couple of priests.

During these troubles Amurath II. ravages Hungary. The emperor endeavors to engage to his assistance the duke of Lithuania, and to create him king; but he cannot come to the spot; the Poles prevent him.

1431 — He again sues to the Hussites for peace; which he cannot obtain, and his troops are again twice beaten. The elector of Brandenburg and the cardinal Julian, the pope's legate, are a second time defeated at Kisemberg, and that in so complete a manner that Procopius appears to be master of the intimidated empire.

At length the Hungarians, whom Amurath II. had left to breathe, march against the conqueror, and save Germany, which had otherwise been laid waste.

The Hussites repulsed at one place, are formidable in all others. The cardinal Julian, not being able to carry on the war, calls a council and proposes admitting the Hussite priests. The council opens at Basel May 23

1432 — The fathers give passports for two hundred people to the Hussites.

This Council at Basel, under Eugenius IV., was no other than a prolongation of several others, summoned at different times by Martin V., to meet at Pavia and Sienna. The fathers began with declaring that the pope had no right either to dissolve their assembly or transfer it; and that he ought to submit to them, on pain of punishment. The councils

regarded themselves as general states of Europe, judges of popes and kings. They had dethroned John XXIII. at Constance, and they intend the same compliment for Eugenius IV. at Basel.

Eugenius, who believed himself above the council, dissolves it, but in vain. He finds himself cited to appear there, rather than to preside; and Sigismund takes that opportunity to get himself crowned in Lombardy, and afterwards, though to no purpose, at Rome.

He finds Italy powerful and divided. Philip Visconti reigns over the Milanese, and over Genoa, the unfortunate rival of Venice, which has lost her liberty, and now only fought for masters. The duke of Milan and the Venetians dispute about Verona, and other frontiers. The Florentines side with the Venetians. Lucca and Sienna declare for the duke of Milan. Sigismund is too happy in being protected by this duke, in his journey to Rome, to receive the vain crown of emperor. He then takes part with the council against the pope, as he had done before at Constance. The fathers proclaim his holiness a contemner of the court, and give him sixty days for his appearance, after which they depose him.

The fathers of Basel resolved to imitate those of Constance. But their examples deceived them. Eugenius was powerful at Rome, and the times were no longer the same.

1433 — The deputies of Bohemia are admitted to the council. John Huss and Jerome of Prague were

burned at Constance; their followers are respected at Basel, where their voices are admitted. The Hussite priests who come hither, march only in the train of Procopius the Shaven, who approaches with three hundred armed gentlemen; and the fathers cry out: "This is the conqueror of the Church and of the empire." The council allow them the cup at their communion, and they dispute about the rest. The emperor arrives at Basel, where he with great calmness sees his conqueror, and is taken up with a process against the pope.

While they argue at Basel, the Hussites of Bohemia, joining the Polanders, attack the Teutonic knights, and each party believes itself engaged in a holy war. Every ravage is renewed; the Hussites make war among themselves.

Procopius quits the council he had intimidated, to go against the opposite party in Bohemia, and to be beaten. He is killed in a battle near Prague. The victorious faction do what the emperor had never dared to have done. They condemn a great number of prisoners to the stake. These heretics so long armed, to avenge their deceased apostle, now cast each into the flames.

1434 — If the princes of the empire left their chief in a time when he could not revenge himself, they never neglected the public good. Louis of Bavaria, duke of Ingolstadt, having tyrannized over his vassals, being detested by his neighbors, and not sufficiently powerful to defend himself, is put under the

ban of the empire, and is favored by giving some money to Sigismund.

The emperor was, at that time, so poor that he gave up things of the greatest consequence for the most trifling sums.

The last electoral branch of Saxony, of the ancient house of Ascania, dies, without leaving any children. Many relatives lay claim to Saxony. And to obtain this duchy, it costs the marquis of Meissen, Frederick the Warlike, a hundred thousand florins.

1435 — The emperor retires to Hungary, to negotiate with his subjects at Bohemia. The states prescribe the conditions according to which they choose to be reconciled, and stipulate, among other things, that he shall not alter their coin any more. This is a clause to his shame; but a shame common to the princes of those times. The people submit to their sovereign, neither to be tyrannized over nor fleeced.

At last, the emperor having accepted the conditions, the Bohemians submit themselves to him and to the church. Here is a true contract between the king and his people.

1436-37 — Sigismund re-enters Prague, and receives homage again; as newly holding his crown from the choice of the nation. After having appeased other troubles, he causes duke Albert of Austria, his kinsman, to be acknowledged in Bohemia as heir of the kingdom. This is the last event of his life, which happened in December, 1437.

ALBERT II. OF AUSTRIA.

THIRTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1438 — It then began to appear that the house of Austria would become the most powerful in Europe. Albert II., kinsman of Sigismund, sees himself king of Bohemia and Hungary, duke of Austria, sovereign of several other territories, and emperor. He was king of Hungary and Bohemia by election; but when the father and grandfather have been once elected, it is easy for their descendants to set themselves up a hereditary right.

The party of the Hussites, who were called Calixtins, chose for king Cassimir, brother to the king of Poland, and he must fight. The emperor, commanded by Albert the Achilles, then burgrave of Nuremberg, and afterwards elector of Brandenburg, secures the Bohemian crown to Albert II., duke of Austria, by repeated victories.

In the great Diet of Nuremberg, the ancient tribunal of the *Austrègues* is reformed. This was a remedy found out, as has been seen, to prevent the effusion of blood in the quarrels of the lords of the empire. The offended were to name three princes as arbitrators, who ought to be approved of by the states of the empire, and give judgment within a year

Germany is divided into four parts, called circles, Bavaria, the Rhine, Suabia, and Westphalia. The electoral territories are not comprised within these

four circles. Each elector, from his own dignity, governs his territories without subjecting them to this regulation. Each circle has a duke or general, and each member of the circle is taxed to a certain degree, either in men or money, for the public security.

In this diet they abolish an old law which still subsisted in several parts of Westphalia, and being contradictory to all law, was unworthy the name of one. It was called the Secret of Judgment, and condemned a man to death without his knowing anything of the matter.

This manner of judging, which is little better than assassinating, has been used in many states, but more particularly in that of Venice, when any pressing danger, or the interest of the state, which is superior to all law, can give countenance to such barbarity. All ill-founded tradition will fain persuade us that Charlemagne I. established this bloody tribunal to keep the conquered and headstrong Saxons within due bounds. Some judges of Westphalia still make use of this cruel custom. All the successors of Charlemagne ought to blush to have left the honor of suppressing it to Albert of Austria.

1439 —The Council of Basel continued still on the one hand to trouble the West; on the other the Turks and Tartars, who dispute the East, carry their devastations to the frontiers of Hungary.

The Greek emperor, John Palæologus, who had scarce any more dominions left than Constantinople,

vainly imagines it in his power to obtain succor of the Christians; he humbles himself so far as to come to Rome, to submit the Greek church to the papal jurisdiction.

John Palæologus and his patriarch were received in the Council of Ferrara, a council set up by Eugenius IV. in opposition to that of Basel. The Greek emperor and his clergy, in their submission, really maintain, to all appearance, the majesty of their empire, and the dignity of their church. Neither of these fugitives kissed the pope's feet; they detested this ceremony, revived by the emperors of the West, who call themselves the sovereigns of the popes. Nevertheless they had, in the first ages, kissed the feet of the Greek bishops.

Palæologus and his prelates follow the pope from Ferrara to Florence. There it is solemnly decided and agreed on by the representatives of the Latin and Greek churches, "That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son by the production of inspiration; the Father communicates everything to the Son, except his paternity; and that the Son, from all eternity, has had a productive virtue, whereby the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, as from the Father."

The submission of this primacy was a great, interesting, and glorious point for the see of Rome. On the 6th of July the pope was solemnly acknowledged for head of the universal church.

This union of the Greeks and Latins was soon

after disavowed by the whole Greek church; but the victory of Pope Eugenius was not for this the less glorious. While he renders this service to the Latins, and finishes, to the best of his power, the schisms of the East and West, the Council of Basel depose him from the papal chair, declaring him rebellious, simoniac, schismatical, heretical, and perjured.

If we consider the council according to this decree, they will appear only as a troop of factious spirits; if we regard the rules of discipline which they laid down, then they will appear to us as very wise men, and this is because in their deposition of Eugenius, they were influenced only by passions which had no share in their regulations. The most august body, when carried away by passions, always commits more faults than a single man.

It ought not here to be forgotten that Palæologus, at his return to Constantinople, was become so odious to his own church for having submitted to that of Rome, that his own son refused him burial.

Nevertheless, the Turks advanced even to Semandria, in Hungary. In the midst of these alarms Albert of Austria, from whom much was expected, dies on October 27, leaving the empire weak as he had found it, and Europe unhappy.

FREDERICK OF AUSTRIA.

THIRD OF THAT NAME.

THIRTY-NINTH EMPEROR.

1440 — There is a meeting at Frankfort, as usual, for the electing a king of the Romans. The states of Bohemia, who were without a sovereign, enjoyed in common with the other electors, a right to vote, a privilege which never had been given to any but Bohemia.

Louis, landgrave of Hesse, refuses the imperial crown. History furnishes many examples of the same nature. The empire had now for a long time been looked upon as a dowerless spouse, who had need of a very rich husband.

Frederick of Austria, duke of Styria, son of Ernest, who was much less powerful than the landgrave of Hesse, is not so difficult.

In the same year, Albert, duke of Bavaria, refuses the crown of Bohemia, which was offered to him; but this new refusal has its foundation on a motive which princes ought to set themselves as an example. The widow of the emperor, king of Bohemia and Hungary, duke of Austria, was, after his death, brought to bed of a son, named Ladislaus. Albert of Bavaria believed that some respect ought to be paid to the blood of this infant. He looked upon Bohemia as the child's inheritance. He would not deprive him of it. Interest does not always sway

sovereigns. There is also some honor among them; and they ought to consider, that when this honor is secure, it is superior to uncertain dominion.

After the example of the Bavarian, the emperor Frederick III. also refuses the crown of Bohemia. Thus did the precedent of virtue influence. Frederick III. scorns to be less generous than the duke of Bavaria. He charges himself with the guardianship of the child Ladislaus, who, by birthright, ought to possess Upper Austria, wherein is Vienna, and was called to the throne of Bohemia and Hungary by the voice of the people, who in him respected the blood whence he sprung.

The Council of Freising is held, in which those who are killed in tournament, or who have not been confessed within the year, are deprived of burial. These strange and ridiculous decrees have never any force.

1441 — A great Diet at Mentz. The antipope, Amadeus of Savoy (Felix), created by the Council of Basel, sends to that diet a legate *a latere,* where he was obliged to quit the cross and purple which Amadeus had bestowed on him. This Amadeus was a whimsical sort of a man, who having renounced his duchy of Savoy for the unruffled life of a hermit, quitted his retreat at Ripaille in order to be pope. The fathers of the Council of Basel had elected him, though he was a secular. They have in this violated all custom, and these fathers were no longer regarded at Rome but as a seditious faction. The

Diet of Mentz hold the balance between the two popes.

The Knights of the Teutonic Order govern so despotically in Prussia that the people give themselves up to Poland.

The emperor educates at his court Ladislaus, the young king of Bohemia, and the kingdom is governed in the name of this young prince; but in the midst of contradictions and troubles. All the electors and many princes assist at the coronation of the emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle. Each of them is followed by a little army. In those days of ceremony they placed their glory in appearing with magnificence and ostentation; in our days they place it in not appearing at all.

A great example of the liberty of the northern people. Eric, king of Denmark and of Sweden, designs his nephew to succeed him in his throne. The states oppose him therein; declaring that by their fundamental laws the crown ought not to be hereditary. Their fundamental laws at this day are very different. They depose their old King Eric, who aspired at being too absolute, and called to the crown, or rather to the first magistracy, Christopher of Bavaria.

1443-44 — Politics, laws and customs were then very different from what they are in our days. France in that age was seen united with the house of Austria against the Swiss. The Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII., marches against the Swiss,

whose liberty France ought rather to defend. Authors speak of a great victory gained by the Dauphin near Basel; if he had gained such a great battle, how happened it that he could not, without some difficulty, obtain leave to enter Basel with his domestics? This is certain, that the Swiss never lost that liberty for which they fought, and this liberty gained every day additional strength, in spite of their dissensions.

It was not against the Swiss he ought then to have marched; he ought to have gone against the Turks. Amurath II., after having abdicated the empire, reassumed it at the entreaty of the janissaries. This Turk, who might be ranked among philosophers, was numbered with heroes. He pushed his conquests in Hungary. The king of Poland, Wladislas, the second of the Jagellons, caused himself to be elected by the Hungarians, to the prejudice of young Ladislaus of Austria, brought up always near the emperor. He had concluded with Amurath the most solemn peace that ever Christians made with Mussulmans.

Amurath and Wladislas solemnly swear to it, the one on the Koran, the other upon the gospel.

Cardinal Julian Cesarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man famous for his proceedings against the partisans of John Huss, for having formerly presided at the Council of Basel, and for the Crusade, which he had preached against the Turks, was at

that time, by too blind a zeal, the cause of reproach and misfortune to the Christians.

The peace was scarcely confirmed before the cardinal excited them to the breaking of it. He flattered himself he might have engaged the Venetians and Genoese to assemble a formidable fleet, and that the roused Greeks would make one last effort. A pretext for violating the oaths was wanting. Amurath had observed all the conditions with such exactness that he left no subterfuge to the infringers. This legate had no other resource than that of persuading Wladislas, the Hungarian chiefs, and the Poles, that they could violate their oath. He harangued, he wrote, he assured them that the peace sworn on the gospel was to no effect, because it was made against the inclination of the pope. In effect, the pope, who was then Eugenius IV., wrote to Wladislas, that he commanded him to break a peace, which could not be made without the concurrence of the holy see. We already see the introduction of that maxim that no faith is to be kept with heretics. Whence it is to be concluded, that it ought not to be kept with Mahometans.

Julian at length prevails. All the chiefs allow themselves to be carried away by the torrent, and above all, John Corvinus Huniades, that famous general of the Hungarian armies, who had so often defeated Amurath and Mahomet II.

Wladislas, seduced by false hopes, and still more by false morality, surprises the territories of the

Sultan. He is soon met near the Uxine bridge, in the country formerly called Mœsia, now called Bulgaria. Battle is given him near the town of the Varna.

Amurath carried in his bosom the treaty of peace they had so lately concluded. He drew it out in the midst of the fight, while his troops were in motion, and prayed God to punish the perjured, and revenge this outrage committed against the law of nations.

This is what gave rise to the fable, that the peace had been sworn upon the eucharist, that the host had been lodged in the hands of Amurath, and that it was to this host that he addressed himself in the time of battle. The perjured this time received the chastisement they deserved—the Christians were vanquished after a long resistance. King Wladislas was run through the body, his head cut off by a janissary, was carried in triumph from rank to rank through the Turkish army, and this spectacle finished the rout. Some people have affirmed that the cardinal Julian, who assisted in this battle, endeavoring in his flight to pass a river, fell in and was drowned by the weight of the gold which he carried about him; others say that the Hungarians themselves killed him. It is certain that he perished in this journey.

1445 — Germany ought to have opposed the progress of the Ottomans. But at that time Frederick, who had called in the French to his assistance against the Swiss, seeing that his defenders overrun

Alsace and the neighboring country, goes to chase out these dangerous allies. Charles VII. reclaims the right of protection in the town of Toul, although it was an imperial town. He exacts, under the same title, presents from Mentz and Verdun. This right of protection on these towns in their indigence is the origin of that sovereignty which the kings of France have at length obtained.

Instead of carrying on a long, brisk, and well-conducted war against the Turks, a short one is made on the frontiers against the French.

The ecclesiastical war between the Council of Basel and Pope Eugenius IV. still exists. Eugenius bethinks himself of deposing the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, because they had been partisans of the Council of Basel.

He had no right to depose them as archbishops, and yet much less as electors. But what does he do? He names at Cologne a nephew of the duke of Burgundy, and at Trier a natural brother of that prince; for a pope can never be either puissant, or have it in his power to hurt, but in arming one prince against another.

1446 — The other electors and princes take part with the two bishops vainly deposed. The pope had foreseen this. He proposes an agreement, re-establishes the two bishops; he soothes the Germans, and, in fine, Germany, which had remained neutral in the dispute between the antipope and him, acknowledges Eugenius to be the only lawful pope. The

Council of Basel soon falls into contempt, and in a short time dissolved insensibly of itself.

1447 — A Germanic convocation. This council had nevertheless established certain useful regulations, which the Germanic body afterwards adopted, and which it supports to this day. The elections in the cathedral churches and abbeys are re-established.

The pope never named priests to small benefices but during six months of the year.

There is nothing paid to the apostolical chamber for small benefices. Many other laws of the same nature are confirmed by Pope Nicholas V., who thereby pays homage to the Council of Basel, which in Rome is looked on as an unlawful assembly.

1448 — The sultan, Amurath II., again defeats the Hungarians, commanded by the famous Huniades; yet Germany does not arm itself on this dreadful news.

1449 — Germany is taken up with domestic wars. Albert the Achilles, elector of Brandenburg, engages in one against the town of Nuremberg, which he endeavors to subdue. Almost all the imperial towns join in the defence of Nuremberg, while the emperor remains a quiet spectator of these divisions.

He does not choose to give the young Ladislaus up to Bohemia, where he was demanded, and leaves some room to suspect his intending to keep to himself the possessions of his pupil.

This young Ladislaus ought to be entirely king of Bohemia, duke of a part of Austria, of Moravia,

and Silesia; these were, indeed, sufficient temptations for virtue.

Amadeus of Savoy resigns the papacy and becomes again a hermit at Ripaille.

1450-52 — Bohemia, Hungary, and Upper Austria again demand the young Ladislaus for their sovereign. A gentleman named Eisinger stirs up Austria in favor of Ladislaus. Frederick still excuses himself, under pretence of Ladislaus not being as yet of age. He sends his brother Albert of Austria to quell the sedition, and take hold of that opportunity to be crowned in Italy.

Alphonso of Aragon reigned at that time in Naples, and joined the interest of the emperor, because he feared the too powerful Venetians. They were masters of Ravenna, of Bergamo, of Brescia, and of Crema. Milan was in the hands of a peasant's son, who was become the most powerful man in Italy. This was Francis Sforza, the successor of the Visconti. Florence was in league with the pope against Sforza. The holy see had recovered Bologna. All the other principalities belonged to different sovereigns who had mastered them. Things were in this state at the journey of Frederick III. into Italy; a journey the most useless and most mortifying that ever emperor made. He was attacked by robbers on the road to Rome. They took part of his baggage, and he ran the risk of his life. What a manner of travelling was this for him who came to

be crowned Cæsar, and chief of the Christian world.

He made one innovation at Rome, subsisting even to this day. Frederick III. dares not to go to Milan to propose their giving him the crown of Lombardy. Nicholas V. himself gives it to him at Rome, and this alone gives the popes a claim to the right of creating the king of the Lombards as they create the kings of Naples.

The pope confirms to Frederick III. the guardianship of young Ladislaus, king of Bohemia and Hungary, and duke of Austria, a guardianship of which endeavors had been used to deprive him, and the pope excommunicates all those who had disputed it with him.

This bull is all that the emperor carried with him from Rome, and with it he is besieged at Neustadt in Austria, by those whom he called rebels — that is to say, by those who demanded his pupil.

He at last gives up the young Ladislaus to his people. He has been a good deal praised for being a faithful tutor, although he resigned his charge but by force of arms. Would they have made it a virtue in him not to have attempted his pupil's life?

1453 — This year was the memorable epoch of the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. Certainly now or never was the time for crusades. But it is not astonishing that the Christian powers, who had themselves, in their ancient crusades, wrested Constantinople from its lawful masters, should at length

suffer it to be taken by the Ottomans. The Venetians had been a long time possessed of part of Greece; all the rest was in the hands of the Turks. There remained but one town, and that the capital of this ancient empire, now besieged by more than two hundred thousand men, and in this very town they disputed about religion. One of the points of disputation was whether it was allowed them to pray in Latin; another, whether the light on Mount Tabor was created or eternal; another, if they might be allowed to use unleavened bread.

The last emperor, Constantine, had always near him the cardinal Isidore, whose presence alone angered and discouraged the Greeks: "We had rather," say they, "behold the turban here than the cardinal's hat." All the historians, and even the most modern, repeat some old stories that were then trumped up by the monks. Mahomet, according to them, was only a barbarian, who destroyed Constantinople by fire and sword, and who being in love with a captive, one Irene, cut off her head to satisfy his janissaries. This is all equally false. Mahomet was better brought up, more polished, and understood more languages than any Christian prince of those times. There was only a part of the town taken by assault by the janissaries. The conqueror generously granted a capitulation to the rest, and faithfully observed it. And as to the murder of his mistress, they must be very ignorant of the Turkish customs to imagine that the soldiers concerned them-

selves with what passed in the emperor's bedchamber.

A diet is assembled at Ratisbon to endeavor opposing the Ottoman arms. Philip, duke of Burgundy, attends at this diet and offers to march, if he is seconded, against the Turks. Frederick was not idle at Ratisbon, for this very year Austria was erected into an archduchy, as the charter proves.

1454 — The cardinal Æneas Silvius, at that time legate in Germany, and afterwards pope, by the name of Pius II., solicits all the princes to defend Christianity. He addresses himself to the Teutonic Knights, and reminds them of their vows; but they are too much engrossed in fighting with their subjects of Pomerania and Prussia, who shake off their yoke, and give themselves up to Poland.

1455 — There is no person to oppose the progress of Mahomet II., and, by a cruel fatality, almost all the princes of the empire ruin themselves by civil wars, one against another.

The house of Brunswick was contending for the salt-work; the house of the palatine for the title of elector, which the governor endeavors to assume. The duchy of Luxemburg was invaded by the duke of Saxony, and defended by the duke of Burgundy, for twenty-two thousand florins. The affair of the duke of Luxemburg becomes more serious than any other; young Ladislaus, king of Bohemia and Hungary, reclaims that duchy. It does not appear that the emperor takes any part in these

quarrels. The possession of the duchy of Luxemburg remains at length in the house of Burgundy.

1456-57 — This Ladislaus, who might have been a very great prince, dies hated and despised. He had fled to Vienna when the Turks besieged Belgrade. He had left the glory of raising the siege to the celebrated John Huniades, and the friar John Capistran. The emperor takes care for him of Vienna and Lower Austria; Duke Albert, his brother, of Upper, and Sigismund, their cousin, of Carinthia.

1458 — Frederick III. vainly endeavors to get Hungary to himself; it devolves on Matthias, son of the great Huniades, its defender. He endeavors also to reign in Bohemia, and the states elect George Podiebrad, who had fought for them.

1459 — Frederick III. opposes the son of the valiant Huniades, and the brave Podiebrad only by artifices, which show his weakness, and this weakness emboldens the duke of Bavaria, the count palatine, the elector of Mentz, and many other princes, nay even his own brother, to declare war against him in favor of the king of Bohemia.

He is beaten by his brother Albert, and gets out of this difficulty only by giving up several places in Austria. He is treated by all Germany rather as a member than as principal of the empire.

1460 —The new pope, Pius II., late Æneas Silvius, convokes an assembly of the Christian princes at Mantua, to form a crusade against Mahomet II., but the misfortune of these ancient armaments was,

that as they had formerly been made without reason, they contributed to impede those which were founded on reason. Germany is always divided; for example: A duke of one part of Bavaria, of which Landshut is the capital, employs his thoughts rather on supporting his ancient rights on Donauwörth, than on the general good of Europe. And on the contrary, during the madness of the ancient crusades, they had sold Donauwörth to assist in going against Jerusalem.

This duke of Bavaria, Louis, leagues against the princes of his house; and, together with Ulric, count of Würtemberg, raises an army of twenty thousand men.

The emperor supports the rights of Würtemberg, which had been long an imperial town, against the pretensions of the duke. He makes use of the famous Albert, the Achilles, to quell the duke of Bavaria and his league.

Other troubles are raised by the count of Holstein. The king of Denmark, Christian, possesses himself by right of succession also of Schleswig, by giving some money to the other claimants, and subjects Holstein to the emperor.

1461-63 — Much greater troubles ensue from the quarrel of Bavaria, which rages in Germany; and there are still others caused by the disagreement between the emperor and his brother, Albert, duke of Upper Austria. The emperor is fain to submit; and is obliged, by agreement, to cede the govern-

ment of his own territory of that part of Austria, in which Vienna is contained, to Lower Austria. But the delay of the payment of forty thousand ducats gave occasion to renew the war between the two brothers. A battle ensues and the emperor is beaten.

His friend Albert the Achilles, of Brandenburg, is, notwithstanding his surname, beaten by the duke of Bavaria. These internal troubles eclipse the glory of the empire, and make Germany truly unfortunate.

1464 — We see yet another disgrace. There has been always a sort of prejudiced opinion in many nations, that he who possessed certain particular pledges, or signs, had an undoubted right to the kingdom. In the unhappy empire of Greece a garment and a pair of scarlet slippers were sometimes sufficient to constitute the emperor. The iron crown of Monza gave a right on Lombardy; and when rivals disputed the imperial crown of Germany, he who could seize on those antique arms, the lance and sword of Charlemagne, was secure of the greatest party. In Hungary he was the best off who possessed a certain golden crown. This ornament was in the treasury of the emperor Frederick, who did not choose to part with it at the time that he gave up Ladislaus, his pupil, to the Hungarians.

Matthias Huniades makes a new demand of his golden crown upon the emperor, and declares war against him.

Frederick III. at last delivers up this palladium of Hungary. They make a treaty which never had any-

thing like it. Matthias acknowledges Frederick for his father, and Frederick calls Matthias his son; nay, it is stipulated, that in case this pretended son dies without children, and without nephew, the pretended father shall be king of Hungary. In fine, the father gives the son sixty thousand crowns.

1465-66 — This was a time in which the Christian powers were guilty of many mean actions. There had still subsisted two parties in Bohemia, the Catholics and the Hussites. King George Podiebrad, instead of imitating Scanderbeg and the Huniades, favors the Hussites against the Catholics in Silesia; and Pope Paul II. authorizes the revolt of the Silesians by a bull. At length he excommunicates Podiebrad, who is deprived of his kingdom. These unworthy quarrels take from the Christian cause very powerful assistance. Mahomet II. had no mufti to excommunicate him.

1467 — The Catholics of Bohemia offer the crown of Bohemia to the emperor; but in a diet at Nuremberg most of the princes side with Podiebrad, in presence of the pope's legate; and Duke Louis of Bavaria-Landshut says, that, instead of giving Bohemia to Frederick, the imperial crown ought to be given to Podiebrad. The diet order that a body of twenty thousand men be kept up to defend Germany against the Turks. Had Germany been well governed they had rather opposed them with three hundred thousand. The Teutonic Knights, who might have imitated Scanderbeg, only fight for Prus-

sia; and at length, by a solemn treaty, they acknowledge themselves feudatories of Poland. The treaty was made at Thorn the preceding year, and executed in 1467.

1468 — The pope gives Bohemia to Matthias Huniades, otherwise called Corvinus, king of Hungary; that is to say, the pope, whose great interest it was to oppose a bulwark to the Turks, especially after the death of Scanderbeg the Great, instead of so doing, encourages a civil war among the Christians, and abuses the emperor and empire, by daring to oppose a king who was an elector; for the pope had no more right to depose a king of Bohemia than that prince had to give away the see of Rome.

Matthias Huniades wastes time, troops, and negotiations to possess himself of Bohemia. The emperor, with great mildness, assumes the office of mediator. Some of the princes of Germany involve themselves in war; others are taken up in making treaties. The town of Constance forms an alliance with the Swiss cantons.

An abbot of St. Gall joins Toggenburg to his rich abbey, and it costs him no more than forty thousand florins. The inhabitants of Liège war unsuccessfully with the duke of Burgundy. Each prince is in fear of his neighbor. There is no longer an equilibrium. The emperor does nothing.

1469-72 — Matthias Huniades disputes still about Bohemia; nor does the sudden death of Podiebrad extinguish the civil war. The Hussite party chose

Ladislaus, prince of Poland. The Catholics declare for Matthias Huniades.

The house of Austria, which ought to be very powerful under Frederick III., for a long time loses more than it gains. Sigismund of Austria, the last prince of the branch of Tyrol, sells to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, Breisgau, Sundgau, and the country of Ferrete, which belonged to him, for eighty thousand golden crowns. Nothing is more common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, than for sovereignties to be sold at a very mean price. This was dismembering the empire, augmenting the power of a prince of France, who already possessed all the Low Countries. It was not to be foreseen that at some time or other the possessions of the house of Burgundy should revert to the house of Austria. The laws of the empire forbid these alienations; the consent of the emperor ought moreover to be obtained, and even the asking of it was neglected.

At the same time Charles, duke of Burgundy, purchased the duchy of Guelders, and the country of Zütphen, for near the same price. This duke of Burgundy was the most powerful of those princes who were not kings; nay, few kings were so powerful. He was at the same time a vassal of the emperor and of the king of France, yet very formidable to both.

1473-74 — This duke of Burgundy, as enterprising as the emperor, was inactive; is uneasy to all his

neighbors at the same time. No person could have a clearer title to the name of Bold.

He invades the palatinate; he attacks Lorraine in Switzerland. It was then that the kings of France treated with the Swiss for the first time. There were yet but eight united cantons — Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zurich, Glarus, Zug, and Berne.

Louis XI. gave them twenty thousand francs a year, and four florins and a half a man a month.

1475 — It has been always the good luck of the Turks that the Christians were divided among themselves, as if to facilitate the conquests of the Ottoman Empire.

Mahomet, master of Epirus, of Peloponnesus, and of the Negropont, scatters terror everywhere. Louis XI. thinks of nothing but sapping the foundation of the duke of Burgundy's grandeur, which had inspired him with jealousy. The provinces of Italy were employed in supporting themselves against each other, Matthias Huniades was taken up with disputing Bohemia against the king of Poland, and Frederick III. thought of nothing but amassing money, that he might one day be enabled more firmly to establish his power.

Matthias Huniades, after having gained one battle, contents himself with Silesia and Moravia: he leaves Bohemia and Lusatia to the king of Poland.

Charles the Bold invades Lorraine: he finds himself by this usurpation master of one of the finest

countries in Europe, from Lyons even to the sea of Holland.

1476 — His ambition is not satiated: he wants to restore the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, and thereby enclose the Swiss. These people defend themselves against him, as they had before done against the Austrians. They defeat him entirely in the battles of Grandson and Morat. Their pikes and back-swords triumph over the heavy artillery and the shining military force of Burgundy. The Swiss were the only people who at that time fought from no other motive but that of liberty. The princes, nay even the republics themselves, such as Venice, Florence, and Genoa, had hitherto scarcely fought for anything but their advancement. Never people defended more nobly a valuable liberty than the Swiss; they were wanting in nothing but historians.

It was in this battle of Morat that Charles the Bold lost that beautiful diamond which afterwards fell into the hands of the duke of Florence. A Swiss, who found it among the spoils, sold it for a crown.

1477 — Charles the Bold at last perishes near Nantes: he was betrayed by Campo-Casso, a Neapolitan, and killed in his flight, after the battle, by Bausmont, a gentleman of Lorraine.

By his death the duchy of Burgundy, Artois, Charolais, Maçon, Bar-sur-Seine, Lille, Douay, and the towns upon the Somme, revert to Louis XI., king of France, as fiefs to that crown; but Flanders,

which was titled Imperial, with all the Low Countries, and the Franche-Comté, devolve upon the young princess Mary, daughter to the last duke.

The best step that could be taken was Frederick III. marrying his son, Maximilian, to this rich heiress. Maximilian espoused Mary in the town of Essant, on August 17, and Louis XI., who ought to have given her in marriage to his son, makes war upon him.

The feudal right, which in reality is but the right of the strongest, and in its consequence the source of eternal discord, kindles this war against the princess. Ought Hainault to return to France? Is it an imperial province? Has France any right to Cambray? Has it any claims on Artois? Ought the Franche-Comté still to be esteemed a province of the empire? Does it belong to the succession of Burgundy, or ought it revert to the crown of France? Maximilian would have chosen rather the whole inheritance. Louis XI. is willing to engross all that is convenient for him. It is this marriage then which is really the origin of so many unhappy wars between France and Austria; there being no acknowledged right, was the occasion of so many people being sacrificed.

Louis XI. at length possesses himself of the two Burgundies, and towards the Low Countries of all that he could possibly grasp in Artois, or in Hainault.

1478—A prince of Orange, of the house of Châ-

lons in the Franche-Comté, endeavors to preserve this province to Mary. This princess defends herself in the Low Countries, without her husband being able to furnish her any succor from Germany. Maximilian as yet was but the indigent husband of a sovereign heroine. He presses the princes of Germany to take part in his cause. They all rather attend to their own interest. A landgrave of Hesse carries off an elector of Cologne, and keeps him in prison. The Teutonic Knights take Riga in Livonia. Matthias Huniades is on the point of making it up with Mahomet II.

1479 — At length Maximilian, assisted only by the natives of Liège, puts himself at the head of his wife's army, which is called the Flemish forces, although Flanders, properly speaking, that is to say from Lille to Ghent, was of the French party. The princess Mary had a stronger army than the king of France.

Maximilian defeats the French in a battle at Guinegate, in the month of August. This battle was not one of those which at once determine the fate of a war.

1480 — A negotiation. Pope Sixtus IV. sends a legate into Flanders: they made a treaty of two years. Where, all this time, is the emperor Frederick III? He can do nothing for his sons, neither during the war nor by negotiations: but he had given him Mary of Burgundy, and that was enough.

1481 — However, the Turks besiege Rhodes. The

famous grand-master Daubuislon, at the head of his knights, obliges them to raise the siege at the end of three months.

But the Pasha Acomat attacks the kingdom of Naples with fifty galleys. He takes Otranto by assault. All the kingdom is near being ruined. Rome herself trembles. The indolence of the Christian princes escapes this torrent only by the sudden death of Mahomet II., and the Turks abandon Otranto.

A whimsical agreement between John, king of Denmark and Sweden, and his brother Frederick, duke of Holstein. The king and the duke ought to govern Holstein as a fief of the empire, and Schleswig as a fief of Denmark, in common. All these agreements are in general the sources of war; but this above all others.

The cantons of Freiburg in Switzerland, and of Solothurn, join with the other eight. This by itself is but a trifling event. Two small towns cut but a small figure in the history of the world; but becoming members of a body always free, this liberty sets them above the greatest provinces that compose it.

1482 — Mary of Burgundy dies. Maximilian governs her possessions in the name of Philip the Minor, his son. These towns are all privileged. These privileges cause almost perpetual dissensions between the people who would support, and the sovereign who would subject them to his will. Max-

imilian reduces Zealand, Leyden, Utrecht, and Nimeguen.

1483-85 — All the towns surrender one after another, but without any agreement, and are reduced gradually. The seeds of discontent still remain.

1486 — So far are they from uniting against the Turks, that Matthias Huniades, king of Hungary, instead of making a proper use of the death of Mahomet II., to the prejudice of the Turks, falls foul of the emperor. What is the reason of this war of the pretended son against the pretended father? It is difficult to guess. He wants to possess himself of Austria. What right has he to it? His troops beat the Imperialists: he takes Vienna. Here is his sole right. The emperor appears insensible to the loss of Lower Austria: he roves about the Low Countries; thence he goes to Frankfort, to secure among the electors the title of King of the Romans to his son. A man could not have less personal glory, nor prepare better for the grandeur of his house.

Maximilian is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on April 9, by the archbishop of Cologne, Pope Innocent VIII. giving his consent thereto; for the popes always grant what they believe to be necessary.

The emperor, who had credit sufficient in the Diet of Frankfort to make his son king of the Romans, had not enough to obtain fifty thousand florins a month, to enable him to recover Austria. This is one of those strange contradictions often to be met with

in history. At this time was made the league of Suabia, to prevent the particular wars which rend and weaken Germany. It was a regulation of all the princes at the diet of Frankfort; a menacing law, which put all those who attacked their neighbors under the ban of the empire. At length all the gentlemen of Suabia associated themselves to avenge the wrongs done them. This was a piece of true knight-errantry. They went in troops to demolish the strongholds of the Molandrins, or robbers, They also obliged Duke George of Bavaria to desist from insulting his neighbors. This was a militia for the public good. It did not last long.

1487 — The emperor makes a treaty with Matthias Huniades, which none but a vanquished man would ever have made. He leaves to him Lower Austria until he should pay him all the expenses of the war, reserving to himself the right of succeeding his adopted son in the kingdom of Hungary.

1488 — Maximilian, king of the Romans, finds himself at the same time attacked by the French, and by his own subjects in the Low Countries. The inhabitants of Bruges, on whom he would willingly have levied some taxes against the laws of the country, all of a sudden clap him in prison, where they hold him four months; and give him his liberty only upon condition that he shall withdraw the few German troops which he had with him, and make peace with France.

How happened it that the ministry of the young

Charles VIII., king of France, neglected so favorable a conjuncture? This ministry was then weak.

1489 — Maximilian secretly espouses by proxy the duchess Anne of Brittany. Had he espoused her effectually and begotten children by her he would have doubly pressed France, which was surrounded at that time by Franche-Comté, Alsace, Brittany, and the Low Countries.

1490 — Matthias Corvinus Huniades being dead, let us see if the emperor Frederick, his adopted father, succeeds him by virtue of treaties. Frederick parts with his right to the emperor Maximilian.

But Beatrix, widow of the former king, makes the states swear to acknowledge him only whom she should espouse; and soon weds Ladislaus Jagellon, king of Bohemia, whom the Hungarians crown. Maximilian nevertheless recovers Lower Austria, and carries the war into Hungary.

1491 — The same treaty that Frederick III. made with Matthias is renewed between Ladislaus Jagellon and Maximilian. Maximilian is acknowledged presumptive heir to Ladislaus Jagellon in Hungary and Bohemia. Fate, even at this distance, was preparing Hungary for subjection to the house of Austria.

The emperor does a bold action in these times of prosperity. He puts his kinsman, Albert of Bavaria, duke of Munich, under the ban of the empire. It is astonishing to think what a number of princes of this house have been thus treated. What was the

occasion of it? Tyrol was given solemnly to this duke of Bavaria by Sigismund of Austria, and this donation, or secret sale, was looked upon as the gift of his wife Cunegonda, only daughter of the emperor Frederick III.

The emperor pretended that the empire could not be alienated, and the whole empire was divided upon this question; and indubitable proof that the laws were not at all clear, and perhaps there was nothing so much wanting in society.

The ban of the empire was in such cases no more than a declaration of war; but this was very soon concluded. Tyrol remained in the possession of Austria: some compensations are given to Bavaria, and the duke of Bavaria delivers up Ratisbon, which had been for some time in his hands.

Ratisbon was an imperial town: the duke of Bavaria had looked upon it as part of his estate, establishing his title on ancient right; it had been newly declared an imperial town: there scarcely remained to the duke of Bavaria above one-half of the rights of custom.

1492 — Maximilian, king of the Romans, who imagined he might establish the grandeur of his house on a peaceable foundation by marrying his daughter Margaret of Austria to Charles VIII., king of France, with whom she was brought up; and soon after, by marrying Anne of Brittany by proxy, learns that his wife is really married to Charles VIII., on December 6, 1491; and that they are about

to send back his daughter Margaret to him. Women are no longer the subjects of war among princes, but the provinces are. As the inheritance of Mathilda had so long troubled the peace of Italy, so does that of Mary of Burgundy kindle perpetual discord.

Maximilian surprises Arras; after which he concludes an advantageous peace, by which the king of France cedes to him Franche-Comté in pure sovereignty, Artois, and Charolais, and Nogent, on condition of homage.

It is not to Maximilian properly that these countries are ceded, but to his son Philip, as the representative of his mother, Mary of Burgundy.

It must be acknowledged that no king of the Romans ever began his career so gloriously as Maximilian. The victory of Guinegate over the French, the taking of Arras, and the obtaining Artois by the stroke of a pen, covered him with glory.

1493 — Frederick III. dies August 19, aged seventy-eight. He had reigned fifty-three years. No emperor's reign had been longer, but it had not been the most glorious.

MAXIMILIAN.

FORTIETH EMPEROR.

About the time of Maximilian's coming to the empire, Europe began to wear a very different aspect. The Venetians at length opposed themselves as a bul-

wark against the Turks, who already possessed a very large territory. The Venetians still kept Cyprus, Candia, a part of Greece and of Dalmatia: they extended their sovereignty in Italy; but the town of Venice alone was worth more than all their other dominions; the gold of the world flowing in upon them through the channels of commerce.

The popes were become sovereigns of Rome, but sovereigns extremely confined in this capital; and most of the territories which had been formerly given them, and which had been always disputed, were lost by them.

The house of Gonzaga possessed Mantua, a town belonging to the countess Mathilda, and a fief of the empire which the holy see never possessed. Parma and Placentia, which now belonged to them, were in the hands of the Sforzas, dukes of Milan. Ferrara and Modena were ruled by the house of Este; Bologna belonged to the Bentivoglio; Perusia to the Baloni; Ravenna to the Polentini; Florence to the Manfredi; Immola and Forli to the Rimario; almost all the patrimony of St. Peter, and that country which is called Romagna, was possessed by particular sovereigns, the most of whom easily obtained charters as vicars of the empire.

The Sforzas had not, during fifteen years, condescended to take this title. Florence had a much finer, that of Free, under the direction, though not in the power, of the Medicis.

The states of Savoy, as yet very much oppressed,

standing in need of both money and commerce, were then much less considerable than the Swiss.

If from the Alps we take a view of France, we shall find it begin again to flourish. Its members, that had been so long divided, reunite and form a powerful body. The marriage of Anne of Brittany with Charles VIII. completed the strengthening of this kingdom, which had received some considerable improvements under Louis XI. by the acquisition of Burgundy and Provence. Since the decline of the race of Charlemagne, she had but little influence in the affairs of Europe.

Spain, as yet more unhappy than she had been for some seven hundred years, at this time began to revive. Isabella and Ferdinand, after having driven the Moors out of the kingdom of Granada, extended their views to Naples and Sicily.

Portugal was employed in an enterprise of glory unheard of till that time; she began to open a new channel of commerce to mankind, by teaching a passage to the Indies by sea. Here are the sources of all the great events that have since actuated all Europe.

1494 — The Turks under Bajazet cease not as yet to be terrible, though less so than under Mahomet. They make incursions into Hungary and some part of the Austrian dominions; but these are only a few scattered billows, that after the mighty storm contend on the surface. Maximilian goes to secure Croatia and Carniola.

He marries at Innsbruck the niece of Louis Sforza, otherwise called Louis the Moor, the usurper of Milan, who had poisoned his pupil, the natural heir. This was not the only house where crimes had the sanction of nobility. Money only constituted this match. Maximilian weds Blanche of Sforza at once, and gives the investiture of the Milanese to Louis the Moor, which Germany resents.

At the same time Louis the Moor calls also Charles VIII. into Italy, and gives him money. A duke of Milan keeps at the same time in pay an emperor and a king of France. He deceives them both: he believes that he may divide the conquest of Naples with Charles VIII., and while Charles VIII. is in Italy, intends that the emperor shall invade France. The beginning of the fifteenth century is famous for the deepest intrigues and the blackest treacheries. It was the crisis of Europe, but above all of Italy, where many petty princes endeavored to gain by their crimes what they wanted in power.

1495 — A new imperial chamber established at Frankfort, of which the count de Hohenzollern, the eldest of the house of Brandenburg, is first president. It was the same chamber which was afterwards transferred to Worms, to Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ratisbon, and at length to Wetzlar, where some processes were determined, which had subsisted since its foundation.

Würtemberg erected into a duchy. A great dis-

pute, to determine whether the duchy of Lorraine be a fief of the empire. Duke Reignier does homage, and takes an oath of fidelity as duke of Lorraine and Bar; at the same time protesting, that he did it only in consideration of holding certain fiefs. Which ought to weigh most, his homage or his protestation?

While Charles VIII., called into Italy by Louis the Moor, and by Pope Alexander IV., rapidly conquers all before him, and makes himself master of all the kingdom of Naples by means of a bastard of the house of Aragon, this same Louis the Moor, and the same Pope Alexander IV., league with Maximilian and the Venetians to drive him out. Charles chooses to wait for them, appearing to be very formidable, though in reality not so.

1496 — Maximilian goes into Italy, whence Charles VIII. is driven out. There he found what has been always seen there, a strong hatred against the French and Germans, defiance and divisions between the several powers: but what is most to be remarked is, that he arrived there too weakly attended. He had but a thousand horse with him, and four or five thousand infantry: he looked rather like the pensioner of Louis: he wrote to the duke of Savoy, the marquis of Saluzzo, and to the duke of Modena, by their presence to assist at his coronation at Pavia, which all these lords refuse. Everything concurs to show him that he came too indifferently attended, and that Italy believed itself independent.

Is it the emperor's fault if he has so little credit in Italy? It appears not. The princes and diets of Germany furnish him scarcely any subsidies. He draws but little assistance from their territories. The Low Countries belong not to Maximilian, but to his son. The voyage to Italy was ruinous.

1497 — The feudal right is always the occasion of troubles. A diet at Worms having ordered a slight tax for the service of the empire, the Frieslanders refuse to pay it. They always pretend that they are not a fief of the empire. Maximilian sends the duke of Saxony, in quality of governor, to reduce the Frieslanders, a people poor and very fond of their liberties, descended of the ancient Saxons at Xeast, part of whom had fought Charlemagne. They defend themselves, but not so successfully as the Swiss.

1498 — Charles VIII. dies, and, in spite of his associations, in spite of treaties, Maximilian makes an irruption on the side of Burgundy, a fruitless irruption, after which they again enter into new treaties. Maximilian persists to reclaim all the succession of Mary of Burgundy for his son, Philip le Beau.

Louis XII. gives up many places to this young prince, who pays homage to the chancellor of France at Arras, for Charolais, Artois, and also Flanders, and they mutually agree to submit their pretensions on the duchy of Burgundy to the decision of the Parliament of Paris.

Maximilian treats with the Swiss, who are looked upon as invincible, in their own territories.

The ten united cantons form a league with the Grisons. Maximilian hopes to regain them by mildness. He writes them a soothing letter. The Swiss in their assembly at Zurich cry out that no confidence is to be placed in Maximilian.

1499 — The Austrians attack the Grisons. The Swiss defeat the Austrians, and support not only their own liberty, but that of their allies. The Austrians are again beaten in three battles. The emperor at length makes peace with the ten cantons as with a free people.

1500 — The imperial towns of Basel, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell join the Swiss union, which is composed of the thirteen cantons.

The aulic council, projected about this time by Maximilian. This is an image of the ancient tribunal which formerly accompanied the emperor. This chamber is approved by the states of the empire in the Diet of Augsburg. It is permitted to carry causes thither, as well as to the imperial chamber; but the aulic council, having more power, causes its decrees to be better executed, and becomes one of the greatest supports of the imperial power. The form of this chamber was not quite settled till the year 1512.

The empire is divided into six circles, in which the electoral territories are comprised as well as the rest of the empire; though this regulation had not yet

sufficient force till twelve years after the Diet of Cologne.

Charles V., born in the town of Ghent February 24, being St. Matthias' day. We have remarked this, because the day was always favorable to him. They forthwith give him the title of duke of Luxemburg.

Fortune begins to declare the very same year in favor of this child. Don Michael, the infant of Spain, dies, and the infanta Johanna, mother to the young prince, becomes presumptive heir to that monarchy.

About this time the new world was discovered, the fruits of which discovery Charles V. was one day to reap.

1501 — Maximilian had been the vassal of France for part of the succession of Burgundy. Louis XII. demands that he should be the same for the Milanese. He comes from conquering that province under Louis the Moor, uncle and feudatory of the emperor, without Maximilian's appearing in the least disturbed at the fate of a country so dear to all his predecessors.

Louis XII. had also conquered and divided the kingdoms of Naples, with Ferdinand, king of Aragon, without Maximilian's appearing any more disturbed.

Maximilian promises the investiture of Milan, upon condition that Madame Claudia, daughter of Louis XII. and of Anne of Brittany, should marry the young duke Charles of Luxemburg. He intends

declaring the Milanese a feminine fief. There are certainly, by nature, neither feminine fiefs nor masculine. Whether a daughter shall or shall not inherit, all that depends upon custom imperceptibly established.

Louis XII. ought certainly to regard the Milanese as a feminine fief in effect, because he had no other pretensions to it than in the right of a grandmother, Valentia Visconti. It was Maximilian's intention that the Milanese and Brittany should one day pass to his grandson, in which case Louis XII. had neither conquered nor married but for the advantage of the house of Austria.

The archduke Philip and his wife, Johanna, daughter to Ferdinand and Isabella, caused themselves to be acknowledged heirs to the kingdom of Spain. Philip there takes the title of prince of Asturias. Maximilian sees nothing but real grandeur for his posterity, and has scarcely anything for himself but titles; for he has but the shadow of power in Italy, and of precedency in Germany. He could carry his smallest designs into execution only by policy.

1503 — He endeavors ineffectually to make Austria an electorate. The electors continue to meet for two whole years to support their privileges. The extinction of the great fiefs in Germany awakens the attention of the German princes. The popes begin to form a temporal power, and Maximilian permits it.

Urbino, Camarino, and some other territories are forced from their new masters by one of Pope Alexander VI.'s bastards. That is the famous Cæsar Borgia, a deacon, an archbishop, and a secular prince. He employs more art in getting possession of seven or eight small towns than the Alexanders, the Genghises, and the Tamerlanes had shown in the conquest of Asia. His father, the pope, and himself thrive by the bowl and dagger; and the good king Louis XII. had been a long time in alliance with these two blood-stained men, because he stood in need of them. As for the emperor, he seemed entirely to have forgotten Italy.

The town of Lübeck declares war against Denmark. Lübeck seemed to be endeavoring at being in the north what Venice was in the Adriatic, and the troubles that reigned in Sweden and Denmark prevented its being crushed.

1504 — The quarrels of Denmark and Sweden have nothing to say to the history of the empire; but it ought not to be forgotten that the Swedes having chosen a governor, of whom King John of Denmark not approving, he condemned the senators of Sweden as rebels and traitors and remitted their sentence to the emperor for him to confirm it.

This King John had been elected king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; notwithstanding which, there was a necessity for an emperor whose power was very weak, to approve and confirm his sentence. This very King John, though with three

crowns, had very little power himself, especially in Sweden, from whence he had been driven out. But this kind of difference, of which from time to time we see examples, marks sufficiently the respect always paid to the empire. It was always addressed when there seemed to be a necessity for it, as the holy see was often solicited to strengthen uncertain rights. Maximilian nevertheless failed not to procure a proper respect to be paid to the rescripts of that authority, which they attributed to him. He commanded the states of Sweden to obey, threatening that he would otherwise proceed against them according to the rights of the empire.

This year a civil war sprang up between a branch of the palatine and the possessors of the house of Bavaria. The branch of the palatinate is at last condemned in the Diet of Augsburg. Yet this does not make the war the less. Unhappy constitution of a state, where the laws are without force! The branch of the palatine loses in this war more than one territory.

A treaty of a very singular nature is concluded at Blois, between the ambassadors of Maximilian and his son Philip on the one part, and the cardinal d'Amboise in the name of Louis XII., on the other.

This treaty confirms the alliance with the house of Austria, by which Louis XII. should be in reality invested with the duchy of Milan. But by which, if Louis XII. should break the marriage of Madame

Claudia with the archduke Charles of Luxemburg, the latter prince should have the duchy of Burgundy, the Milanese, and the county of Asti, by way of reparation: on the other hand, should the treaty be broken on the side of Maximilian, or of Philip, prince of Spain, father to the young archduke, the house of Austria should not only quit his pretensions on the duchy of Burgundy, but also on Artois, Charolais, and other territories. It is scarcely credible that such a treaty was serious. If Louis XII. should marry the princess, he must lose Brittany; if he broke the marriage, he was to lose Burgundy. Nothing else can be said in excuse of such promises than that there was no intention of keeping them. This was exchanging imprudence for ignominy.

1505 — Isabella, queen of Castile, dies, and by her will disinherits her kinsman, Philip, father of Charles of Luxemburg; and Charles is not to reign till the age of twenty. This was in order to preserve the kingdom of Castile to her husband, Ferdinand of Aragon.

The mother of Charles of Luxemburg, Johanna, daughter of Isabella, heiress of Castile, was, as it is well known, called Johanna the Foolish. She well deserved the title. An ambassador of Aragon comes to Brussels, and engages her to sign her mother's will.

1506 —An agreement between Ferdinand of Aragon and Philip. The latter consents to reign in

common with his wife and Ferdinand. In all public acts the name of Ferdinand was put first; after it that of Johanna and that of Philip — a sure way to confound three persons, as will appear in the sequel.

The states of France, in concert with Louis XII. and the cardinal d'Amboise, oppose the treaty, which gives Madame Claudia and Brittany to the house of Austria. They marry her to the presumptive heir of the crown, Count d'Angoulême, afterwards Francis I. Charles VIII. had gotten the wife of Maximilian, Francis I., the wife of Charles V.

While so many treaties were being made on this side the Alps; while Philip and Johanna were gone into Spain, and Maximilian kept fair on all sides, at the same time not getting the inheritance of Hungary out of his eye, the popes pursued their new design of establishing a great sovereignty by force of arms. Excommunications were weapons too much used. Pope Alexander VI. had begun, Julius II. finished it. He takes Bologna from the Bentivoglios, and Louis XII., or rather the cardinal d'Amboise, assists him therein.

He had already reunited to the fee of Rome, the territory which Cæsar Borgia had taken for himself. In effect Alexander VI. fought for his son, but Julius II. conquered for the see of Rome.

The titular king of Spain, Philip, dies at Burgos. On his death-bed he appoints Louis XII. guardian of his son Charles. This act was based on the

hatred he had for his step-father Ferdinand. And, in spite of their disagreement on account of Madame Claudia's marriage, he looked on Louis XII. to be a much honester man than Ferdinand the Catholic. A mighty religionist, but a most perfidious monarch! who had deceived the whole world, but above all his parents, and more particularly his kinsman.

1507 — A strange affair! The Low Countries refuse to acknowledge the emperor Maximilian for regent, during the minority of Charles. They say that Charles was a Frenchman, because he was born at Ghent, the capital of Flanders, during the time that his father paid homage to the king of France. Under this pretext, the seventeen provinces governed themselves for eighteen months, without Maximilian's being able to remedy the insult. There was no conquered country more free than the Low Countries at this day; England had not obtained nearly so much liberty.

1508 — A war against the members of the house of Guelders, who had been long since driven from their dominions, part of which having been recovered, they incessantly struggled for the rest, obliges the states at last to cede the regency to Maximilian, and Margaret of Austria, his favorite daughter is declared governess.

Maximilian intends to try if he can recover some credit in Italy, by getting himself crowned at Rome. The enterprise was difficult. The Venetians, now become more powerful than ever, haughtily declare

they would oppose his progress in Italy, if too strongly attended. The governor of Milan for Louis XII., joins the Venetians. Pope Julius II. tells him that he gives him the title of emperor, but that he does not advise him to go to Rome.

He advances towards Verona, in spite of the Venetians, who had not sufficiently guarded the passes. Here they keep their word with him, and force him to retire to Innsbruck.

The famous Venetian general, Alviano, entirely defeats the emperor's little army near the Trentin. The Venetians possess themselves of almost this whole province, and their fleet takes Trieste, capital of Istria, and other towns. Alviano enters Venice in triumph.

Maximilian then, as a last resource, sends a circular letter to all the states of the empire, enjoining them to give him the title of Roman Emperor elected; a title which his successors have ever since taken at their accession. Custom heretofore had given the name of emperor to those only who were crowned at Rome.

1509—The empire at that time had no footing in Italy, where there were no more than two great powers, and many small ones. Louis XII. on the one side, master of the Milanese and of Genoa, who having a free communication by Provence, threatened the kingdom of Naples, heretofore imprudently divided with Ferdinand of Aragon, who took everything to himself with that perfidy which is usually

called policy. The other new power was Venice, the rampart of Christianity against the infidels; a rampart broken indeed in a hundred places, yet still making some resistance by the towns that remained to them in Greece, by the isles of Candia, Cyprus, and Dalmatia. Besides, she was not always at war with the Ottoman empire, and gained more by her commerce with the Turks than she lost by her possessions.

Her dominions on the earth began to be something. She had seized on Faenza, Rimini, Ceseno, some territories belonging to Ferrara, and the duchy of Urbino, after the death of Alexander VI. They possessed Ravenna, and justified most of these acquisitions, because, that having assisted the houses dispossessed by Alexander VI. in the recovery of their dominions, these territories were awarded to them as their recompense. The Venetians had for a long time possessed Padua, Verona, Vicenza, the marquisate of Trevisa, and Frionia. They had near the Milanese, Bressia, and Bergamo. Francis Sforza had given them Crema, Louis XII. had ceded to them Cremona and Guiara d'Adda.

All this did not compose in Italy a state so very formidable, that Europe should fear the Venetians as conquerors. The real power of Venice was in St. Mark's treasury. It was there they had wherewith to retain an emperor and a king of France.

In the month of April, 1509, Louis XII. marches against his old allies the Venetians, at the head of

fifteen thousand horse, twelve thousand French infantry, and eight thousand Swiss. The emperor advances against them on the side of Istria and Friuli. Julius II., the first warlike pope, enters the towns of Romagna at the head of ten thousand men.

Ferdinand of Aragon, as king of Naples, declares also against the Venetians, because that they held some ports in the kingdom of Naples, on account of some money which they had formerly lent on them.

The King of Hungary also declares against them in hopes of having Dalmatia. The duke of Savoy having some pretensions on the kingdom of Cyprus, gives also a helping hand to the enterprise. The duke of Ferrara, a vassal of the holy see, also joins in it. In fine, so far from attacking the great Turk, the whole continent of Europe joins at once to oppress the Venetians.

Pope Julius II. was the first promoter of this singular league, of the strong against the weak, so well known by the name of the League of Cambray. And he who would have shut strangers out of Italy forever, floods the whole country with them.

Louis XII. has the misfortune to beat the Venetians completely, in the battle of Guiara d'Adda. This was not very difficult. The mercenary soldiers of Venice could hold out against the other sovereigns of Italy, but not against the French gendarmes. The misfortune of Louis XII. in beating the Venetians was, that he labored for the emperor. Master as he was of Genoa and Italy, no more

remained to prevent the Germans ever entering Italy, than for him to have joined the Venetians.

The fear of the power of Venice was badly founded. Venice was only rich, and they must shut their eyes not to see that the new channels of commerce by the Cape of Good Hope and the American seas, would finish the sources of the Venetian power. Louis XII. had received from Maximilian one hundred thousand golden crowns for joining this league, without which the emperor could not possibly have marched towards the Alps.

June 14, 1509, the emperor gives the investiture of the Milanese to Cardinal d'Amboise, who receives it for Louis XII., in the town of Trent. The emperor not only gives this duchy to the king, but in default of his issue to Count d'Angoulême, Francis I. This was the price of the ruin of Venice.

Maximilian received for this grant sixty thousand golden crowns. Thus, for three ages past, had everything been sold. Louis XII. might have employed this money to settle himself in Italy; and he returns to France, after having reduced Venice almost to her islands.

The emperor then advances on the side of Friuli, and reaps all the fruits of the French victory. But Venice, during the absence of Louis XII., acquires new courage, and her money procures her new armies. She forces the emperor to raise the siege of Padua, and, by giving up everything that he asks,

concludes a treaty with the promoter of the league, Julius II.

The principal design of Julius II. was to drive the Barbarians out of Italy, and rid it at once of the French and the Germans. The popes had formerly called in these nations to support him, one against the other, and vice versa. Julius, by repairing the faults of his predecessors, by delivering Italy, and strengthening himself, sought an immortal name. Maximilian refuses to aid Julius in driving out the French.

1510—Julius II. at length makes his own use of the Swiss, whom he arouses against Louis XII., as also old Ferdinand, king of Aragon and of Naples. He endeavors to procure a peace between the emperor and Venice; and, at the same time, devises the seizing of Ferrara, Bologna, Ravenna, Parma, and Placentia.

A great diet is held at Augsburg, in the midst of so many different interests. Here they debate whether Maximilian shall give peace to Venice. Here they confirm the liberty of the town of Hamburg, which had been long disputed by Denmark.

Maximilian and Louis XII. are again united, that is to say, Louis XII. assists the emperor in pursuing the Venetians, and the emperor does not in the least contribute to preserve to Louis, Milan and Genoa, whence the pope endeavors to drive him out.

Julius II. at length gives the investiture of Naples to Ferdinand, king of Aragon, though he had

promised it to Louis XII. Ferdinand, already master of Naples, stood in no need of this ceremony; but then it cost him seven thousand crowns rent, whereas formerly forty-eight thousand used to be paid to the holy see.

1511—Julius II. declares war against the king of France, who begins to have very little power in Italy. This warlike pope intends the conquest of Ferrara, belonging to Alphonso d'Este, an ally of France. He takes Mirandola and Concordia in his march, and gives them to the house of Mirandola, but as fiefs of the holy see. These are but trivial wars; but certainly Julius II. had more policy than his predecessors; since he found the art of making them in some measure profitable, while all the victories of the French were of very little service to them, since they could not enable them to curb the enterprises of the pope.

Julius II. gives up Modena, of which he had been some time possessed, to the emperor; and he only parts with it for fear that the troops which the king of France had in the Milanese should have besieged it.

1512—The pope at length prevails on Maximilian secretly to sign a treaty with King Ferdinand and him against France. These are fruits that Louis XII. gathers from his league of Cambray, and so much money given to the emperor.

Julius II., who intended chasing the Barbarians out of Italy, instead of it introduces, all at once, the

Swiss, the Aragonese, and the Germans. Gaston de Foix, nephew to Louis XII., governor of Milan, a young prince, who acquires great glory and reputation, by supporting himself with a very small army, defeats the allies at the battle of Ravenna, but is killed in the victory, and, by that means, the fruits of it are lost. Such, almost always has been the fate of the French in Italy. They lose the Milanese after that famous battle of Ravenna, which, at another time, had given them the empire of Italy. Pavia is almost the only place that remains to them.

The Swiss who, excited by the pope, had made a hand of this resolution, receive from his holiness, instead of money, the titles of Defenders of the Holy See.

Maximilian, in the meantime, continues the war against the Venetians; but these rich republicans make a good defence, and daily repair their former losses.

The emperor and the pope incessantly treat. And it is in this very year that Maximilian offers himself to the pope, to accept him as coadjutor in the popedom. He sees no other way of re-establishing the imperial dignity in Italy, and, from this view, he sometimes assumes the title of *Pontifex Maximus,* in imitation of the Roman emperors. His being a layman was no exclusion from the papacy, it being justified by the example of Amadeus of Savoy. The pope having disappointed him in his views of being

coadjutor to him, Maximilian begins to devise the succeeding him; for which purpose he gains some cardinals, and endeavors to borrow money to purchase the remaining votes at the death of Julius, which he imagines very near. His famous letter to the archduchess Margaret, his daughter, is a testimony of this, the original being still to be seen.

The investiture of the duchy of Milan, which three years before had cost Louis XII. one hundred and sixty thousand golden crowns, is given to Maximilian Sforza, at a much easier rate — to the son of that Louis the Moor, whom Louis XII. had kept so harshly, yet so justly, in prison. The same Swiss who had betrayed Louis the Moor to Louis XII., brings his son back in triumph to Milan.

Pope Julius II. dies, after having laid the certain foundation of the pope's temporal grandeur; but as for his spiritual, it daily diminishes. The temporal grandeur might have formed the equilibrium of Italy; yet it has not. The reason of this is the weakness of a sacerdotal government and the nepotism.

1513 —A war breaks out between Denmark and the Hanse towns, Lübeck, Dantzic, Wismar, and Riga. There were many examples of this kind, which we shall not see in these days. The towns are beaten, and the princes get the better in almost all parts of Europe; so very hard is it to preserve true liberty!

Leo X., less warlike than Julius, but not less

enterprising, more cunning but less capable, forms a league against Louis XII., with the emperor, with Henry VIII., king of England, and old Ferdinand of Aragon. This league was concluded at Mechlin on April 5, by the care of that Margaret of Austria, governess of the Low Countries, who had made the league of Cambray.

The emperor was to possess himself of Burgundy, the pope of Provence, the king of England of Normandy, the king of Aragon of Guienne. This last had lately usurped Navarre from John d'Albret, by means of a papal bull, seconded by an army. Thus do the popes, always weak, give kingdoms to the strongest. Thus rapaciousness always acts by the hands of religion. Louis XII. at length unites with those very Venetians he had before so imprudently lost. The papal league is broken almost as soon as formed. Maximilian only gets some money from Henry VIII. It was all that he wanted. What weakness! what knavery! what cruelty! what inconstancy! what rapacity is manifested in all these great affairs!

Louis XII. vainly attempts to recover the Milanese. La Trimouille marches thither with a few troops. He is defeated at Novara by the Swiss, and begins to be doubtful whether the Swiss do not intend to take Milan themselves. Milan and Genoa, as well as Naples, are lost to France.

The Venetians, who formerly had in Louis XII. a terrible and imprudent enemy, have now only a

useless ally in him. The Spaniards of Naples declare against them, and beat their famous general Alviano, as Louis XII. had before beaten them. Henry VIII. of England is the only one of all the princes who signed the league of Mechlin against France, that keeps his word. He embarks with the preparations and hope of an Edward III., or an Henry V.

Maximilian, who had promised him an army, follows the king of England as a volunteer, and Henry VIII. gives one hundred crowns a day, as pay, to that successor of the Cæsars, who would have set himself up for pope. He is present at that victory which Henry gains in the new battle of Guinegate, called the Battle of the Spurs, being the very same place in which he himself had won a battle in his youth.

Maximilian is afterwards paid a very considerable sum. He receives two hundred thousand crowns to make war in reality. France, thus attacked by a young and powerful king, was certainly, after the loss of her men and money in Italy, in imminent danger.

Maximilian, nevertheless, with part of Henry's money, procures the Swiss to attack Burgundy. Ulric, duke of Würtemberg, here leads the German cavalry. Dijon is besieged. Louis XII. loses Burgundy, after the Milanese, all by the hands of the Swiss. Nor can La Trimouille oblige them to retire, without promising them, in the name of his master,

four hundred thousand crowns. What are the vicissitudes of this world! what may we not hope for, what have we not to fear! since we see the Swiss, their hands still reeking with blood, shed in defence of their liberty against the house of Austria, now arming in defence of that house, and even the Hollanders preparing to do the same.

1514 — Maximilian, seconded by the Spaniards, continues the war against the Venetians. This was all that remained of the old league of Cambray, the principle and object of which were now changed; and the French, who had been formerly the heroes, were at length become the victims of it.

Louis XII., driven out of Italy, menaced by Ferdinand of Aragon, beaten and abused by his subjects, vanquished by Henry VIII., of England, who revives the claims of his ancestors upon France, has no other resource than that of marrying Mary, sister of Henry VIII., for his second wife.

This very Mary had been promised to Charles of Luxemburg. It seems to have been the luck of France to carry off all the women promised to the house of Austria.

1515 —The great point at which Maximilian always aims, is establishing his house. He concludes a marriage between Louis, prince of Hungary and Bohemia, and his granddaughter, Mary of Austria, as well as between the princess Ann of Hungary, and one of his grandsons, Charles or

Ferdinand, who were afterwards successively emperors.

This is the first contract whereby a girl is promised to either one husband or another, as her parents shall think proper. Maximilian does not forget to mention, in this contract, that his house shall inherit Hungary, according to the ancient conventions between the houses of Hungary and Bohemia. Nevertheless, these two kingdoms have been always elective, which does not at all agree with conventions of this nature, because the votes of the nation are necessary to support the Austrian authority.

Charles being declared of age at fifteen, pays homage to the king of France, Francis I., for Flanders, the Artois, and Charolais. Henry of Nassau takes the oath of fidelity in the name of Charles.

Another new marriage is proposed for the archduke Charles. Francis I. promised him Madame Raignier, his step-sister; but this appearance of union covers an insatiable discord.

The duchy of Milan is still the object of the ambition of Francis I., as it had been of Louis XII. He also, like his predecessor, begins by an alliance with the Venetians, and buys victories.

After the battle of Marignan, he takes all the Milanese in one campaign. Maximilian Sforza retires to live privately in France, upon a pension of thirty thousand crowns. Francis I. obliges Pope Leo X. to give up Parma and Placentia. He makes him promise to surrender Modena and Reggio to

the duke of Ferrara. He concludes a peace with the Swiss, whom he had defeated, and thus in one campaign becomes arbitrator of Italy. Thus the French always begin.

Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Aragon, grandfather to Charles V., dies January 23, after having prepared much glory for his grandson, whom he very little regarded.

The success of Francis I. revives Maximilian. He raises troops in Germany, with the money which Ferdinand had sent him before his death: for the states of the empire never furnished him with any money to carry on the quarrels in Italy. At length Leo X. breaks the treaties which he had been forced to make with Francis I., pays no regard to any of his promises; neither does he surrender Modena, Reggio, Parma, nor Placentia; so much had the popes always at heart the great design of keeping strangers out of Italy; of making them destroy one another; and of acquiring, by that expedient, a right over the Italian liberty, of which they were the avengers; glorious design, worthy of ancient Rome to attempt, not in the power of modern Rome to accomplish.

The emperor Maximilian descends by the Trentine, besieges Milan with fifteen thousand Swiss; but this prince, who was always raising money, and always wanting it, not paying his Swiss regularly, they mutinied. The emperor, fearing to be stopped by them, secures himself by flight. Here then you

see the last efforts of the famous League of Cambray, which had stripped Louis XII., and obliged an emperor to fly, for fear of being imprisoned by his hirelings.

He proposes to Henry VIII., king of England, to cede him the empire and the duchy of Milan, merely with a view of extorting money from him; a circumstance almost incredible, had it not been attested by letter under Henry's hand.

Another marriage is again stipulated with the archduke Charles, now king of Spain. Never had a prince been promised to so many wives without having gotten one. Francis I. gives him his daughter Louisa, aged one year.

This marriage, which turned out no better than the others, is stipulated in the Treaty of Noyon. This treaty directs, that Charles shall do justice to the house of Navarre, stripped by Ferdinand the Catholic; and that he should engage the emperor his grandfather, to make peace with the Venetians. This treaty is no better executed than the marriage, although it should have brought into the emperor's treasury two hundred thousand ducats, which the Venetians were to have paid him. Francis I. was also to give Charles one hundred thousand crowns a year, until he had full possession of the kingdom of Spain. Nothing is more trifling nor more whimsical. One would imagine them gamesters endeavoring to deceive each other.

Immediately after this treaty the emperor makes

another with his grandson Charles, and the king of England against France.

1517 — Charles passes into Spain. He is acknowledged king of Castile, jointly with Johanna his mother.

1518 — Pope Leo X. has two great projects on the anvil; that of arming the Christian princes against the Turks, who were now become more formidable than ever, under Sultan Selim II., conqueror of Egypt; the other was to embellish Rome, and finish the basilica of St. Peter, begun by Julius II., and absolutely one of the finest monuments of architecture ever made by men.

He thought it would be allowed him to drain the money of Christianity by the sale of indulgences. These indulgences were originally exemptions from certain imposts, granted either by the emperors, or by the governors to certain countries that had been oppressed.

The popes, and also some bishops, had applied these temporal indulgences to spiritual affairs, but in a very contrary manner.

The indulgences of the emperors were exemptions of the people, those of the popes were taxes on them; much more so since the belief of purgatory had become generally established, and that the vulgar, who are, in every country, at least eighteen out of twenty, led into a persuasion, that by obtaining a bit of paper at a very trifling price, they buy off years of punishment. A public sale of this kind is

one of those ridiculous affairs, which people of the least sense in these times never think of. But then one ought no more to be surprised at it, than the people of the East to see the Bonzes and Talapoins sell a remission of all sin for a sixth part of a farthing.

There are everywhere offices of indulgence, where they are leased out as the rights of entries and exits. Most of these offices were held in houses of entertainment. The preacher, the farmer, the distributor, were all gainers. Hitherto all was carried on very peaceably. In Germany the Augustines, who had been long in possession of the farming of these follies, became jealous of the Dominicans, to whom this liberty was granted, and this was the first part of the quarrel that inflamed all Europe.

This revolution was begun by the son of a blacksmith, born at Eisleben. This was Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, employed by his superiors to preach against a merchandise which they had no longer the vending of. The quarrel was at first between the Augustines and the Dominicans; but Luther, after having decried indulgences, began to examine into the power of him who granted them to Christians. A corner of the veil was here lifted up. The people, once spirited, began to judge that which they adored. Luther is openly protected by Frederick, the old elector of Saxony, surnamed the Wise, he who, after the death of Maximilian, had the courage to refuse the empire. The doctrine

of this monk was as yet neither firm nor confined. He contented himself, in the beginning, with saying that the communion ought to be administered in common bread and wine: that sin remained in the infant after baptism: that auricular confession was really useless: that neither popes nor councils could make articles of faith; that purgatory could not be proved by the canonical books: that monastic vows were an abuse; and that all princes ought to unite in abolishing the mendicant friars.

Duke Frederick, elector of Saxony, as we have already said, was the protector of Luther and of his doctrine. It is reported that this prince had sufficient religion to constitute a Christian; sufficient reason to see the abuses of it; and a strong desire to reform them—perhaps much rather with a view of dividing the immense wealth which the clergy possessed in Saxony. He did not imagine then that he labored for his enemies, and that the rich archduchy of Magdeburg would fall to the house of Brandenburg, already become his rival.

1519 — While Luther, cited to the Diet at Augsburg, withdraws himself, after having made his appearance, summons a future council, and prepares without knowing it, one of the greatest revolutions that ever was made in the Christian church, since the extinction of Paganism; the emperor Maximilian, who had been already forgotten, dies at Innsbruck on January 12, of a surfeit of melons.

There being an interregnum to Oct. 1, 1520, the

electors of Saxony and the palatinate jointly govern the empire, to the day of the emperor-elect's coronation.

Francis I., king of France, and Charles of Austria, king of Spain, put in for the imperial crown. Either one or the other had it in his power to revive at least some shadow of the Roman Empire. The neighborhood of the Turks, already become very formidable, put the electors under the dangerous necessity of choosing a puissant emperor. Christianity required that either Francis or Charles should be elected; but it was the interest of Pope Leo X., that neither one nor the other should be put in the road of being his master. Charles, Francis, the great Turk, and Luther, were all of them objects equally, at that time, to influence the pope with fear.

Leo. X. crosses, as much as possible, the two competitors. Seven great princes were, at the most critical juncture, to dispose of the foremost place in Europe, and votes are, nevertheless, bought. In the midst of these intrigues, and during this interregnum, the ancient and modern laws of Germany are not without their force. The Germans teach princes that great and useful lesson, of not abusing their power. The league of Suabia renders itself praiseworthy by making war on Duke Ulric of Würtemberg, who oppressed his vassals.

This league of Suabia is really established for the public good. It obliges the duke to abandon his territories, but afterwards sells them for a scandal-

ous price to Charles of Austria. Then everything is done for money! how comes it that Charles, ready to mount the imperial throne, thus plunders such a house, and purchases, for a very trifle, the estate of another?

Leo X. attempts governing despotically in Tuscany. The electors meet at Frankfort. Can it be true, that they offer the imperial crown to Frederick, surnamed the Wise, elector of Saxony, the great protector of Luther? was he solemnly elected? No. In what then consists his refusal? In this: that his character had made him the object of public election, he having before given his interest to Charles, and his recommendation influencing the other votes, Charles V. is unanimously elected on June 28, 1519.

CHARLES V.

FORTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

This year is that of the first capitulation drawn up for the emperor. It was before this sufficient they took an oath of fidelity at their coronation. An oath void of justice opens a passage to injustice. There ought to be a stronger bulwark against the abuse of authority of a prince so powerful in himself.

By this certain contract of the sovereign with the constituents, the emperor promises, that if he has any estates to which he shall appear not properly

entitled, he will give them up at the first intimation of the electors. This is promising a great deal.

Some considerable authors pretend, that they swore him also to a constant residence in Germany; but the capitulation expressly says: "that he shall reside there as long as he possibly can." To exact a piece of injustice, gives too much pretext for neglecting the execution of that which is just.

The day of the election of Charles V. is marked by a battle between a bishop of Hildesheim and a duke of Brunswick, in the duchy of Lüneburg. They dispute about a fief, and in spite of the establishment of the *Austrègues*, of the imperial chamber, and the aulic council, in spite of the authority of the two vicars of the empire, there are bloody engagements almost daily, for the most trifling matters, between the bishops, the princes, and the barons. Some laws, indeed, subsisted, at that time, in Germany; but the coercive, which is the chief power of laws, was wanting.

The news of Charles's election is carried to him in Spain by the elector palatine. The grandees of Spain at that time reckoned themselves equal to electors; the peers of France rank above them; and the cardinals take the right hand of both.

Spain, fearing to become a province of the empire, Charles is obliged to declare that kingdom independent. He goes to Germany; but first makes a voyage to England, even so early to engage in a league with Henry VIII. against Francis I. He is crowned at

Aix-la-Chapelle, Oct. 23, 1520. At the time of the accession of Charles V. to the empire, Europe insensibly assumes a new aspect. The Ottoman power fixes itself at Constantinople on a foundation not to be overturned.

The emperor, king of the Two Sicilies, and of Spain, prepares to form a league against the Turks. The Venetians, at the same time, stand in awe of the sultan and emperor.

Pope Leo X. is master of only a trifling territory, and already finds one-half of Europe endeavoring to escape from his spiritual authority; for, about the year 1520, from the extremity of the North, all the way to France, the people were revolting both against the abuse of the Roman Church, and against its laws.

Francis I., king of France, rather a brave soldier than a great prince, had more desire than he had power to pull down Charles V. Had his prudence and his strength been equal, how could they have succeeded against an emperor, king of Spain and Naples, sovereign of the Low Countries, whose frontiers extended even to the gates of Amiens, and into whose ports of Spain the treasures of a new-found world began already to be poured.

Henry VIII., king of England, pretends at length to hold the balance between Charles V. and Francis I.—a great example of what the courage of the English, assisted by the riches of their commerce, was able to do. In this review of Europe it is

observable that Henry VIII., one of the principal personages, was one of the greatest scourges the earth ever felt; absolute even to brutality; furious in his anger; barbarous in his amours; a murderer of his wives; and a tyrant as capricious in the government of his kingdom, as in the management of religion: yet did he die in his bed; and Mary Stuart, who had only a criminal weakness, and Charles I., who could be reproached with nothing but goodness, died upon the scaffold.

A king still wickeder than Henry VIII., that is Christian II., after reuniting to his power Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, a monster always stained with blood, and surnamed the Nero of the North, yet at last is punished for all his crimes; although the brother of Christian V. is dethroned, and dies in prison in old age, the object of contempt and detestation.

Thus have I drawn, in miniature, the principal Christian princes who made a figure in Europe, when Charles V. took the reins of the empire.

Sciences flourished at that time in Italy more than ever. But she was never more distant from that great end proposed by Julius II., of driving the Barbarians out of Italy. The European powers were almost always at war; but happily for the people, the little armies, which were raised for a time, returned afterwards to the cultivation of the earth; and in the midst of the most obstinate disputes, Europe had not above one-fifth of the soldiers which

she now maintains in times of profound peace. They knew nothing of that continual and dreadful effort which consumes the substance of a government in always keeping on foot those numerous armies, which in time of peace can only be employed against the people, and may one day become fatal to their masters.

The principal force of the Christian armies consisted always in cavalry: foot was generally despised: therefore the Germans called them *Lands-Knechte,* tillers of the earth. The janissaries were the only formidable infantry.

France almost always made use of foreign infantry. The Swiss as yet made no other use of their liberty than to sell their blood, and he generally believed himself sure of victory in whose army there was the greatest number of Swiss. They preserved this reputation until the battle of Marignan, where Francis I. defeated them with his cavalry, when he first attempted an invasion of Italy.

War began to grow more an art under Charles V. than it had ever been before. His great successes; the progress of science in Italy; the reformation, in point of religion, of one-half of Europe; commerce opened with India by the ocean, and the conquests of Mexico and Peru, will make this age eternally memorable.

1521 —A diet at Worms, famous for re-establish-

ing the imperial chamber, which no longer subsisted but in name.

Charles V. establishes two vicars, not of the empire, but of the emperor. The vicars of the empire are Saxony and the palatine, whose decrees are irrevocable. The vicars of the emperor are governors accountable only to the sovereign. These governors were his brother Ferdinand, to whom he had given his possessions in Austria, the count palatine, with twenty-two assistants.

This diet summons to appear before them the dukes of Brunswick and of Lüneburg on the one part, and the bishops of Hildesheim and of Minden on the other, who maintained a continual war on each other. They despise their decree, and are put under the ban of the empire, which they also hold in contempt, persisting in mutual hostility. The power of Charles V. is not yet sufficiently strong to give force to his laws. Two bishops, armed and rebellious, dispose the people very much, not only against the Church, but its possessions.

Luther comes to this diet with a protection from the emperor; nor does he fear the fate of John Huss. The priests were not the strongest party in this diet. They confer with him; but neither side rightly understands the other, so that they agree on nothing, and let him return in peace to Saxony to destroy the Roman religion. On May 6, the emperor publishes an edict against Luther in his absence, enjoining, under pain of disobedience, every prince and sover-

eignty of the empire to imprison him and his adherents. This proclamation was levelled at the duke of Saxony, who, it was well known, would not obey it. But the emperor, who had united with Leo X. against Francis I., was willing to appear as a Catholic.

He attempts in this diet to form an alliance between the empire and the king of Denmark, Christian II., his brother-in-law, assuring him of succor. Sentiments of horror against tyranny are always predominant in general assemblies; the enthusiasm of virtue must communicate itself, and the cries of nature will be heard. The whole diet exclaims against an alliance with a villain, contaminated with the blood of ninety-four senators butchered before his eyes by the common executioners in Stockholm, afterwards delivered up to be plundered. It is pretended that Charles V. had in view the securing to himself the three Northern crowns, in aiding his unworthy brother.

The same year, Pope Leo X., more cunning perhaps than wise, and finding that between Francis I. and Charles V., he should be only involved, makes, almost at the same time, a treaty with each; the first in 1520, with Francis I., to whom he promises the kingdom of Naples, reserving to himself Gaeta, and this by virtue of that chimerical law, that a king of Naples can never be emperor. His second treaty was in 1521 with Charles V., to drive the French out of Italy, and give the Milanese to Fran-

cis Sforza, a younger son of Louis the Moor, and above all, to obtain for the holy see Ferrara, of which they always attempt to deprive the house of Este.

The first hostility that engages the empire against France, is this: The duke of Bouillon, Robert de la Mark, sovereign of the castle of Bouillon, solemnly declares war by a herald against Charles V. and ravages Luxemburg. It is well known that he was stirred up by Francis I., who in public denied it.

Charles, united with Henry VIII. and Pope Leo X., makes war on Francis I., on the side of Picardy, and towards the Milanese. In 1520 it had been already begun in Spain; but Spain is but an appendix to the annals of the empire.

Lautrec, governor for the king of France in the Milanese, a very unfortunate general, because he is rash and imprudent, is driven out of Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Parma, and Placentia, by Prospero di Colonna.

Leo X. dies on December 2. George, marquis de Malaspina, attached to France, and supposed to have poisoned the pope, is arrested, and clears himself of a crime it would have been very hard to prove. This pope had twelve thousand Swiss at his command.

Cardinal Wolsey, tyrant of Henry VIII., who was the tyrant of England, has a mind to be pope. Charles V. dupes him, and manifests his power by giving the papacy to his preceptor Adrian, a native of Utrecht, and then regent of Spain.

Adrian is elected on January 9, and preserves his name, notwithstanding the established custom of the eleventh century. The emperor absolutely governs the papacy. The old league of the towns of Suabia is confirmed at Ulm for eleven years. The emperor has some reason to fear it, but he inclines to please the Germans.

1522 — Charles again repairs to England. He receives at Windsor the order of the garter, and promises to marry his cousin Mary, daughter to his aunt, Catherine of Aragon, and Henry VIII., she who was afterwards married to his son Philip. He submits, by an astonishing clause, in case he should not marry this princess, to forfeit five hundred thousand crowns. This is the fifth time of his having been promised, without being once married. He divides France already in imagination with Henry VIII., who begins to think of reviving the pretension of his ancestors on that kingdom.

The emperor borrows money of the king of England. Here the enigma of his forfeiting five hundred thousand crowns is explained. This money lent is to serve one day as a portion, and this singular forfeiture is required of Henry VIII. as a sort of security. The emperor gives the prime minister, Cardinal Wolsey, pensions, which do not recompense him for the loss of the papacy. Why is the most powerful emperor that has been seen since the days of Charlemagne obliged, Maximilian-like, to borrow money of Henry VIII.? He makes war on

the side of the Pyrenean mountains, of Picardy, and in Italy, all at the same time. Germany bears no part in his expense; Spain very little; the mines of Mexico furnish yet no regular produce; the expenses of his coronation, and his first establishments of every kind, were immense.

Charles V. is everywhere successful. Cremona and Lodi are all that remain to Francis I. in the Milanese. Genoa, which he had hitherto possessed, is taken from him by the Imperialists. The emperor allows Francis Sforza, the last prince of that race, to enter Milan.

But in the meantime the Ottoman power threatens Germany. The Turks are in Hungary. Solyman, as formidable as Selim and Mahomet II. had been, takes Belgrade, and thence proceeds to the siege of Rhodes, which capitulates in about three months.

This year is pregnant with great events. The states of Denmark solemnly depose their tyrant Christian, whom they look on as a criminal, and imagine they do him a kindness in confining themselves barely to deposing him. Gustavus Vasa banishes the Catholic religion in Sweden. All the North, even to the Weser, is ready to follow this example.

1523—While a controversial war threatens Germany with a revolution, and while Solyman menaces Christianity in Europe, the quarrels between Charles V. and Francis I. occasion new misfortunes to Italy and France.

Charles V. and Henry VIII., in order to crush Francis I., engage in their cause the constable of Bourbon, who, excited by ambition and revenge, rather than by patriotic love of his country, undertakes to cause a diversion in the heart of France, as soon as the enemies of Francis shall attack his frontiers. They promise him in marriage Eleonor, sister to Charles V., widow of the king of Portugal, and, what is still more essential, Provence, with other territories, which they are to erect into a kingdom.

To give the last stroke to France, the emperor enters into alliance with the Venetians, Pope Adrian, and the Florentines. Duke Francis Sforza remains possessed of Milan, which is wrested from Francis I. But the emperor does not yet acknowledge Sforza to be duke of Milan: and defers deciding on that province, until he shall become so absolutely master of it, that the French can have no more pretension.

The imperial troops enter Champagne. The treachery of the constable of Bourbon being discovered, he is obliged to fly, and goes to command for the emperor in Italy.

In the midst of these great troubles a trivial war breaks out between the electors of Trier and the noblesse of Alsace, which appears like a small vortex moving within a great one. Charles V. is too much engrossed with ruminating on his vast designs, and his variety of interests, to attend to the pacifying these transitory quarrels.

Clement VII. succeeds Adrian November 29. He was of the house of Medici. His papacy will be eternally remarkable for his unfortunate connections; for that weakness which at length caused the destruction of Rome, sacked by the army of Charles V.; it will be always distinguished by the loss of the Florentine liberty, and by the irrevocable defection of England, torn from the Roman Church.

1524—The first step of Clement VII. is the sending a legate to the diet at Nuremberg, in order to engage Germany to arm against Solyman, and to answer a writing entitled "The Hundred Complaints against the Court of Rome." He succeeds in neither one nor the other.

It was not at all extraordinary that Adrian, the preceptor, and afterwards the minister of Charles V., a man born with the genius of a subaltern, should enter into a league which must render the emperor absolute master of Italy, and soon of all Europe. Clement VII. had nevertheless sufficient courage to detach himself from this league, in hopes to hold an equal balance.

There was at that time a man of the same family, who was indeed a great man. This was John de Medici, Charles V.'s general. He commanded for the emperor in Italy, together with the constable of Bourbon. It was he that in this year completed the driving the French out of that little part of the Milanese which they still possessed; who beat Boni-

vet at Biagrassa, where the famous chevalier Bayard lost his life.

The Marquis de Pescara, whom the French call Pescaire, a noble rival to John de Medici, marches into Provence with the duke of Bourbon: the latter determines on the siege of Marseilles, in spite of Pescara, and the enterprise miscarries; but Provence is ravaged.

Francis I., when he ought to have assembled an army, pursues the Imperialists, who withdraw: he passes the Alps: he, to his misfortune, enters that duchy of Milan, which had been so often won and lost. The house of Savoy was not yet sufficiently strong to stop the progress of the French arms.

At that time the ancient papal policy displayed itself; and the fear which a powerful emperor inspired, makes Clement VII. an ally to Francis I., to whom he offers the kingdom of Naples. Francis marches thither a large detachment of his army: thus, by dividing his forces, he weakens himself, and prepares inevitable misfortunes for himself and Rome.

1525—The king of France besieges Pavia. The Count de Lanoy, viceroy of Naples, Pescara, and Bourbon, endeavors to raise the siege by forcing a passage at Mirabel Park, where Francis I. was posted. The French artillery alone put the Imperialists to the rout. The king of France ought not to have moved, and he was beaten. He engages in the pursuit, and is entirely defeated. The Swiss, who

made up the force of his infantry, abandoned him and fled, and he was not persuaded of the ill consequences of having an entirely mercenary body of infantry, nor of having relied too much on his own courage, until he fell a captive into the hands of the Imperialists, and that of Bourbon, whom he had abused and forced into rebellion.

Charles V. received the news of his excessive good fortune at Madrid, where he still was, and dissembled his joy. They send him his prisoner. He then appears absolute master of Europe, and had been so effectually, had he pursued his fortune at the head of fifty thousand men, instead of remaining at Madrid. But his successes raised him enemies, and the more so, since he, who passed for one of the most active princes, did not make a proper use of them.

Cardinal Wolsey, who was out of humor with the emperor, instead of persuading Henry VIII., whom he governed, to enter France, then abandoned, and an easy prey, engages him to declare against Charles V., thereby seizing that balance which had escaped the feeble hands of Clement VII. Bourbon, whom Charles flattered with the hopes of a kingdom, made up of Provence, Dauphiny, and the estate of the constable, is as yet no more than governor of the Milanese.

One must necessarily believe that Charles V. had some secret weighty engagements in Spain, since at that critical time he neither entered France,

entirely open to invasion, nor Italy, which to him might have been an easy conquest, nor yet Germany, where new disputes, and the love of independency created fresh troubles.

The different sectaries knew very well what they would not believe, but did not know what they would believe. All agreed in exclaiming against the abuses of the court of Rome and its church, and they introduced other abuses. Melancthon opposes Luther on some articles.

Storch, a native of Silesia, goes farther than Luther had done. He is the founder of the sect of Anabaptists, whose apostle is Münzer. They both preach, sword in hand. Luther began with engaging the princes in his party. Münzer established his among the people of the country, whom he soothed and spirited with a notion of equality, nature's primitive law, which had been destroyed by force and associations. The first fury of the peasants displayed itself in Suabia, where they were greater slaves than elsewhere. Münzer goes to Thuringia, and there, whilst he preaches equality, makes himself master of Mülhausen, and, whilst he preaches up disinterestedness, causes the wealth of the inhabitants to be laid at his feet. All the peasants rise in Suabia, Franconia, in part of Thuringia, the Palatinate, and Alsace.

Indeed, these sort of savages draw up a manifesto which a Lycurgus would have signed. They insist "upon paying only the tithes of their corn,

which shall be employed to relieve the poor; that they shall have free liberty of water and chase; that they shall be allowed wood to build cabins, to defend them against the cold; and that their daily labor shall be lessened." They lay claim to the rights of human nature, but they support them like wild beasts. They massacre all the gentlemen they meet. A natural son of the emperor has his throat cut.

It is very remarkable that these peasants at last set a gentleman at their head, like the revolted slaves mentioned in antiquity, who, finding themselves incapable of governing, chose for their king the only master that had escaped the slaughter.

They seize on Heilbronn, Spires, Würzburg, and the countries round these towns.

Münzer and Storch lead the army in quality of prophets. The old elector of Saxony, Frederick, engages in a bloody battle with them near Frankhausen, in the county of Mansfeld. In vain do the two prophets sing canticles in the name of the Lord; these fanatics are entirely defeated. Münzer, taken after the battle, is condemned to lose his head; he abjures his tenets before his death; he had been no enthusiast; he had only conducted those that were; but his disciple, Fisser, condemned along with him, dies fully persuaded of them. Storch returns to preach in Silesia, and sends disciples into Poland. The emperor, in the meantime, negotiates at his

ease with the king of France, his prisoner in Madrid.

1526 — The principal articles of the treaty whereby Charles V. imposes laws upon Francis I., are these:

The king of France gives up to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy and the county of Charolais. He renounces his right to sovereignty upon Artois and on Flanders; he cedes to him Arras, Tournay, Mortagne, St. Amand, Lille, Douay, Orchies, and Hesdin; he desists from his pretensions to the Two Sicilies, the Milanese, the county of Este, and on Genoa; he promises no longer to protect the duke of Guelders, whom he had always supported against this powerful emperor, nor the duke of Würtemberg, who claimed his duchy, which had been sold to the house of Austria; he promises to oblige the heirs to the crown of Navarre to renounce their rights to it; he signs an offensive and defensive league with the conqueror, who had ravished from him so many territories, and promises to marry Eleonor, his sister.

He is obliged to receive into favor the duke of Burgundy, to restore him his estate, and to indemnify not only him, but all his party.

Nor was this all; the two eldest sons of this king were to be delivered up as hostages for fulfilling the treaty, which is signed the 14th of January. While the king of France brings his two sons to be left captives in his stead, Lanoy, viceroy

of Naples, enters his apartments, booted, to make him sign the contract of marriage with Eleonor, whom he had never seen, and who was then four leagues off. A strange way this of taking a wife!

It is affirmed that Francis I. made a formal protestation against all his promises, in the presence of a notary, before he signed them. It is difficult to believe that a notary of Madrid either would or could enter the prison of a king to witness such an act.

The dauphin and the duke of Orleans are sent into Spain, exchanged for their father on the river Andoye, and carried into bondage.

Charles might have had Burgundy, had he caused it to have been ceded before he had released his prisoner. The king of France exposed his two children to the emperor's anger by not keeping his word. There had been a time when such an infringement would have cost these two princes their lives.

Francis I. causes it to be represented by the states of Burgundy, that he cannot part with so fine a province of France. He ought not then to have promised it. Such was the situation of this king, that every party was sorry for him.

On May 22, Francis I., whose misfortunes and necessities had procured him many friends, signs a league at Cognac with Pope Clement VII., the king of England, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Swiss, against the emperor. This league

is called Holy, because the pope is at the head of it. The king thereby stipulates to put that very duke, Francis Sforza, whom before he would have stripped of it, in possession of the Milanese.

He concludes with fighting for his old enemies. The emperor finds France, England, and Italy, at once arming against his power, because that power itself was not sufficiently strong to prevent such a revolution, and because he remained idle at Madrid, when he ought to have proceeded in making a proper use of the victories won by his generals.

During this confusion of intrigues and of wars, the Imperialists were masters not only of Milan, but of almost the whole province; Francis Sforza possessing no more than the castle of Milan. But as soon as the league is signed, there is a rising in the Milanese. They take part with their duke. The Venetians march and take Lodi from the emperor. The duke of Urbino enters the Milanese at the head of the pope's army. In spite of so many enemies, the good fortune of Charles preserves Italy to him; he ought to have lost it for staying at Madrid, but it is defended for him by the old Antonio de Leva and his other generals. Francis I. cannot march troops fast enough from his own weakened kingdom; the pope's army acts slowly, and that of Venice faintly. Francis Sforza is obliged to give up his castle of Milan. A very small number of Spaniards and Germans, properly com-

manded and accustomed to victory, procure all these advantages for Charles, at a time of his life when he scarcely does anything himself. He remains still at Madrid; he applies himself to the regulating ranks and forming titles; he marries Isabella, daughter to Emanuel the Great, king of Portugal, while the new elector of Saxony, John the Constant, professes the reformed religion, abolishing that of Rome in Saxony; while Philip, landgrave of Hesse, does the same in his dominions; Frankfort establishes a Lutheran senate; and while a great number of Teutonic Knights, destined to the defence of the church, quit it in order to marry and appropriate to the use of their families the commanderies of the order.

Fifty of the Knights Templars had been formerly burned, and the order extirpated for no other reason but because they were rich. The Teutonic order was powerful. Albert of Brandenburg, who was grand master of it, divides Prussia with Poland and remains sovereign of that part called ducal Prussia, doing homage and paying tribute to the king of Poland. This revolution is commonly placed in 1525.

Things being thus circumstanced, the Lutherans haughtily demand the establishment of their religion in Germany, at the Diet of Spires, while Ferdinand, who holds this diet, requests assistance against Solyman, who returns to the attack of Hungary. The diet grants neither the liberty of religion nor

the succors in behalf of Christianity against the Ottomans.

The young Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, imagines he shall be able alone to sustain the attacks of the Turkish Empire. He hazards a battle with Solyman. It was called the battle of Mohács, from the field on which it was fought, not far from Buda. It was as dreadful in its consequences to the Christians as the battle of Varna. Almost all the noblesse of Hungary perished therein. The army is entirely cut to pieces, and the king in his flight drowned in a morass. The writers of those times tell us that Solyman caused fifteen hundred Hungarian prisoners, who were of the noblesse, to be beheaded, yet that he wept at seeing the picture of the unfortunate King Louis. It is scarcely credible that a man who, in cold blood, could strike the heads off fifteen hundred noblemen, should weep for the death of one. These two facts are equally doubtful.

Solyman takes Buda, and menaces the surrounding countries. This misfortune of Christianity aggrandizes the house of Austria. The archduke Ferdinand, brother to Charles V., demands Hungary and Bohemia, as estates which ought to devolve to him by family compacts, by way of inheritance. This right of inheritance was reconciled by the right of election made by the people, the one supporting the other. The states of Hungary elect him on October 26.

In the meantime another party declare John

Zápolya, count of Scepus, vaivode of Transylvania, king in Alba Regalis. Perhaps no kingdom since that time was so unfortunate as Hungary. It was almost always divided into two factions and overrun by the Turks. Ferdinand, in the meantime, has the good luck to drive out his rival in a few days, and to be crowned at Buda, whence the Turks had withdrawn themselves.

1527 — On February 24 Ferdinand is elected king of Bohemia, without any competitor, and he acknowledges that he holds the kingdom *ex libera et bona voluntate,* by the free and good will of those who had chosen him.

Charles V. remains in Spain, while his house acquires two kingdoms, and his fortune in Italy outsoars his projects.

He pays but badly his troops under the command of the duke of Bourbon, and of Philibert de Châlons, prince of Orange. However, they exist on rapine, to which they give the name of contribution. The holy league was considerably disordered. The king of France had neglected that vengeance which he sought after, and had not yet sent an army beyond the Alps. The Venetians stir but little, the pope still less, and he is reduced to raise very bad troops. Bourbon leads his soldiers straight to Rome, which he storms on the 27th, but is killed in scaling the walls. However, the prince of Orange enters the town. The pope takes refuge and is made prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. The town is pillaged

and destroyed, as it had formerly been by Alaric and by other Barbarians.

It is said that the pillage amounted to fifteen millions of crowns. Charles, for only requiring half that sum as its ransom, might have reigned in Rome, but after the troops had lived there for nine months at discretion, he was compelled to part with it. His luck was the same with all others who had sacked that capital.

There had been too much blood spilt in this disaster, but many soldiers, who were enriched by the spoil, remained inhabitants of the country, and in Rome and the neighborhood around it, in some few months, were reckoned not less than forty-seven hundred young women with child. Rome, that had formerly been inhabited by Goths and Vandals, was now peopled by Spaniards and Germans; the blood of the Romans had been mixed with that of a crowd of strangers under the Cæsars. At this day there is but one single family in Rome that can call itself Roman. No more than the name and ruins of this mistress of the world subsist.

During the imprisonment of the pope, Alphonso I., duke of Ferrara, from whom Julius II. had taken Modena and Reggio, recovers his possessions, when Clement VII. capitulates in the castle of St. Angelo. The Malatestas possess themselves again of Rimini. The Venetians, allies to the pope, take Ravenna, to guard it for him, say they, against the emperor.

The Florentines, shaking off the yoke of the Medicis, set themselves at liberty.

Francis I. and Henry VIII., instead of sending troops into Italy, send ambassadors to the emperor, who was then at Valladolid. Fortune, in less than two years, had put into his hands Rome, the Milanese, a king of France, and a pope, without his making use of these opportunities.

Strong enough to pillage Rome, he was not able to keep it and the old claim of the emperors, their pretence on the dominion of Rome remaining still eclipsed.

At length, Francis I. sends an army into the Milanese, under that very Lautrec who had before lost it, leaving his two children still in bondage. This army once more retakes the Milanese, which they had won and lost in so short a time. This diversion and the plague, which ravage Rome and the conquering army at the same time, pave the way for the pope's deliverance. Charles V., on one side, sings Te Deum and makes processions in Spain for this deliverance of the holy father, whom he nevertheless holds in captivity; on the other, he sells him his liberty for 400,000 ducats. Clement VII. lays down 100,000 and makes his escape without having paid the rest.

While Rome is sacked, and the pope ransomed in the name of Charles V., the protector of the Catholic faith, such sects as were enemies to that religion make new progress. The sacking of Rome and

the pope's captivity give the Lutherans fresh spirits. Mass is legally abolished at Strasburg, in consequence of a public dispute. Ulm, Augsburg, and many other imperial towns, declare themselves Lutherans. The council of Berne admit the cause of the Catholics and that of the Sacramentarians, disciples of Zuinglius, to be pleaded before them. These sectaries differ from the Lutherans principally about the eucharist. The Zuinglians affirm that God is in the bread only by faith, and the Lutherans affirm that God is with the bread, in the bread, and on the bread; but all agree that the bread exists. Geneva and Constance follow the example of Berne. The Zuinglians are the progenitors of Calvinists; of people of sound sense, but simple and austere. The Bohemians, the Germans, and the Swiss are those who ravaged one-half of Europe at the siege of Rome.

The Anabaptists renew their fury, in the name of the Lord, from the palatinate to Würzburg. They are dispersed by the elector palatine, assisted by the generals Truchses and Fronsberg.

1528 — The Anabaptists appear again in Utrecht, and cause the archbishop of that town, who was the sovereign of it, to sell it to Charles V., lest the duke of Guelders should make himself master of it.

This duke, secretly protected by France, opposes Charles V., whom nothing could hitherto withstand. Charles makes peace with him, on condition that the duchy of Guelders and the county of Zütphen should

revert to the house of Austria, in case of the duke's dying without male issue.

The quarrels of religion seem to demand the presence of Charles in Germany, while war summons him to Italy.

Two heralds, Guienne and Clarencieux, the one on the part of France, the other on that of England, declare war against him at Madrid. Francis I. had no business to declare it, because he had already done it in the Milanese, and Henry VIII. still less, because he had not done it at all.

It is an idle fancy to think that princes neither act nor speak but like politicians. They do both like men. The emperor sharply reproaches the king of England, with his intended divorce from Catherine of Aragon, who was Charles's aunt, and charges the herald Clarencieux, to tell him that Cardinal Wolsey advised both the divorce and the war, to revenge himself for the loss of the papacy. As to Francis I., he reproaches him with the breach of his promise, and declares he will fight him hand to hand. It is true that Francis I. had broken his word, but it is no less true that to keep it had been extremely difficult.

Francis I. answers him in these terms: "You lie in your throat, and as often as you repeat it, you lie. . . . Appoint the place of combat; we shall meet you properly prepared." The emperor sends a herald to the king of France, to notify the place of combat, whom the king receives on September 10

in the most magnificent manner. The herald would have spoken before the delivery of his letter, wherein was ascertained the place of engagement, but the king silences him, and will only see the letter, which therefore was never produced. Thus the time of two kings is taken up with giving each other the lie by heralds at arms. There is in this procedure an air of knight-errantry and ridicule, very different from our manners.

During all these bravadoes, Charles V. loses the fruits of the battle of Pavia, of the taking of the king, and the captivity of the pope. He is also near losing the kingdom of Naples. Lautrec had already seized upon Abruzzo entirely. The Venetians had possessed themselves of most of the maritime towns of that kingdom. The celebrated Andrea Doria, then in the French service, had with the galleys of Genoa beaten the imperial fleet. The emperor, who six months before was master of Italy, is near being driven out of it, but it is the fate of the French to lose always in Italy what they had gained.

The contagion reaches their army; Lautrec dies. Naples is evacuated. Henry, duke of Brunswick, with a new army, approaches to defend the Milanese against the French, and against Sforza.

Doria, who had contributed so much to the success of France, disgusted at Francis I., and fearing an arrest, quits his service and passes over to that of the emperor, with his galleys.

The war continues in the Milanese, and Pope Clement VII. negotiates while he waits the event of it. It was no longer a time to excommunicate an emperor, or transfer his sceptre into other hands by divine appointment. This formerly might have been the case, had he refused to lead the pope's horse by the bridle, but the pope, after his imprisonment, after the sacking of Rome, ineffectually supported by the French, fearing even the Venetians, his allies, willing to establish his family at Florence, perceiving besides Sweden, Denmark, and one-half of Germany, fallen from the Roman church, the pope, I say, in these extremities, respected and feared Charles V. so very much that, instead of breaking the marriage between Henry VIII. and Catherine, the aunt of Charles, he was ready to excommunicate that very Henry VIII., his ally, because Charles required it.

1529 — The king of England, a slave to his passions, bends his thoughts on nothing but being separated from his wife, Catherine of Aragon, a virtuous woman, by whom he had a daughter some years before, and marrying his mistress, Anne of Boleyn, or Bullen.

Francis I. still leaves his two children captives to Charles V. in Spain, and makes war against him in the Milanese. Duke Francis Sforza still leagued with that king, and seeks the countenance of the emperor, willing to preserve his duchy by the hands of the stronger, and fearing to lose it, either by the

one or by the other. Germany is rent by the Protestants and Catholics. The sultan Solyman prepares to attack it, and Charles V. remains at Valladolid.

Old Antonio de Leva, one of the greatest generals in his time, seventy-three years old, sick of the gout and carried on a litter, defeats the French in the Milanese, near the frontiers of Pavia. The remainder of them disperse, and quit a country that has been so fatal to them. The pope still continues to treat, and had happily concluded his negotiations before the French receive this last stroke. The emperor treats the pope very generously: First, to make amends in the eyes of the Catholics, and in truth he had some need of it for the scandal of sacking Rome; secondly, to engage the pontiff to oppose the arms of religion to the scandal that was likely to fall on his aunt at London by making void her marriage and bastardizing his cousin Mary, that very Mary to whom he ought to have been married; and thirdly, because the French were not rooted out of Italy when this treaty was concluded.

The emperor gives Ravenna, Pavia, Modena, and Reggio to Pope Clement VII., leaving him at liberty to pursue his pretensions on Ferrara. He promises him also, to give Tuscany to Alexander de Medici. The treaty, so advantageous to the pope, was ratified at Barcelona.

Immediately after he agrees to terms with Francis I., who purchases his children for two million of golden crowns, paid down, and five hundred

thousand crowns to be given by Francis to Henry VIII., being the sum forfeited by Charles V. for not marrying his cousin Mary.

Francis had certainly nothing to say of the debts of Charles V., but he was conquered, and his children ought to be redeemed. Two and a half million golden crowns certainly impoverished France, but was not equal to the value of Burgundy, which remained to the king; besides, it was so contrived with the king of England that the forfeit was never paid.

France, then impoverished, appears no longer formidable; Italy waits the orders of the emperor; the Venetians temporize, while Germany fears the Turks, and wrangles about religion.

Ferdinand assembles a diet at Spires, where Lutherans take the name of Protestants from the protesting of Saxony, Hesse, Lüneburg, Anhalt, and fourteen towns, against the edict of Ferdinand, and appeal to a future council.

Ferdinand leaves the Protestants to believe and act as they please; he did well. Solyman, who had no religious disputes to appease, still intends the crown of Hungary for John Zápolya, vaivode of Transylvania, an opponent of Ferdinand, and this kingdom was to have become tributary to the Turks.

Solyman subdues Hungary, enters Austria, takes Altenburg by assault, besieges Vienna on September 26, but Vienna is always the stumbling block of the Turks. It is the fortune of the house of Bavaria

to defend Austria in these perils. Philip the Warlike, brother to the elector palatine, the last elector of the eldest palatine branch, defends Vienna. Solyman raises the siege in thirty days, but remains master of Hungary, and gives the investiture of it to John Zápolya.

Charles at last quits Spain, and arrives at Genoa, which, no longer French, attends her fate from him. He declares Genoa free, and a fief of the empire. He goes from town to town in triumph, during the time that the Turks besiege Vienna. Pope Clement VII. waits for him at Bologna, whither Charles at length comes to receive, on his knees, the benediction of him whom he had held captive, whose dominions he had desolated. After having been at the pope's feet as a Catholic, he receives, as an emperor, Francis Sforza, who throws himself at his feet and asks his pardon. He gives him the investiture of the Milanese for one hundred thousand golden ducats, paid down, and five hundred thousand payable in ten years. He gives him his niece, the daughter of the tyrant Christian in marriage, after which he himself is crowned by the pope at Bologna. Like Frederick III., he receives from him three crowns, the one of Germany, the other of Lombardy, and the third of the empire. The pope, in giving him the sceptre, addresses him thus: "Emperor, our son, take this sceptre, to reign over the people of the empire, over whom we and the electors judge you worthy to command." In giving

him the globe, he says to him: "This globe represents the world, which you ought to govern with virtue, religion, and constancy." The ceremony of the globe recalls to mind the image of the ancient Roman Empire, master of the best part of the known world, and in some measure belonging to Charles V., sovereign of Spain, Italy, Germany, and America.

Charles kisses the pope's feet in the time of mass, but he had no mule to lead. The emperor and pope eat in the same state, each at a table by himself.

He promises to the pope's nephew, Alexander de Medici, his bastard Margaretta, with Tuscany as a portion.

By these regulations and concessions it is evident that Charles V. did not aspire at being king of the Christian continent as Charlemagne had been. He only aimed at being the principal personage, at having the chief influence there, and preserving his right of sovereignty over Italy. Had he intended to have ingrossed all to himself, he had drained Spain of men and money, to have established himself at Rome, and governed Lombardy as one of his provinces. But this does not do, for the more he had engrossed, the more he had to fear.

1530 — The Tuscans, seeing their liberty sacrificed by the union between the emperor and the pope, have the courage to defend themselves against both, but this courage is useless, opposed to strength. Florence besieged, surrenders upon condition.

Alexander de Medici is received as their sovereign, and acknowledges himself a vassal of the empire.

Charles V. disposes of principalities like a judge and a master. He gives up Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, in spite of the prayers of the pope. He erects Mantua into a duchy. It was at this era he gave Malta to the Knights of St. John, who had lost Rhodes. The donation bears date of March 24. He makes them this present as king of Spain, and not as emperor. He avenges himself as much as possible on the Turks, by opposing to them this bulwark, which they could never destroy.

After having thus disposed of territories, he goes to endeavor to give peace to Germany, but it is much harder to settle the quarrels of religion than the interests of princes.

The confession of Augsburg was made about this time, which serves as a rule to the Protestants and a rallying of their party. This Diet of Augsburg began June 20. On June 26 the Protestants present their confession of faith in Latin and German.

Strasburg, Meiningen, Lindau, and Constance, there present their act of separation, and call it, "The confession of the four towns." They were Lutheran like the rest, and differed but in few points.

Zuinglius also sends thither his confession, although neither he nor the canton of Berne were either Lutherans or Imperialists.

Disputes run high. On September 22 the emperor

publishes a decree, enjoining the Protestants to desist from further innovations, to leave full liberty to the Catholic religion in their different territories, and to prepare a presentation of their griefs, for a council to be convoked in six months.

The four towns form an alliance with the three cantons of Berne, Zurich, and Basel, whereby they are to be furnished with troops, should any encroachments be made on their liberty.

The Diet makes out the process of the grand master of the Teutonic order. Albert of Brandenburg, who, as we have seen, had become a Lutheran, possessed himself of ducal Prussia, and chased out the Catholic knights. He is put under the ban of the empire, but is nevertheless master of Prussia.

The Diet fixes the imperial chamber in the town of Spires. It is by this that it is finished, and the emperor appoints another at Cologne, in order to have his brother, Ferdinand, there elected king of the Romans.

Ferdinand is chosen on January 5 by all the electors, except John the Constant, of Saxony, who fruitlessly opposes him.

The Protestant princes at that time and the deputies of the Lutheran towns unite themselves at Smalcald, a town of Hesse. The league for their general defence is signed in the month of March. Their zeal for their religion, and fear of seeing the empire, which was elective, become a hereditary monarchy, were the motives of this league between

John, duke of Saxony, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Würtemberg, the prince of Anhalt, the count of Mansfeld, and the towns of their communion.

1531 — Francis I., who caused the Lutherans in his own dominions to be burned, promises to assist those of Germany. The emperor then negotiates with them. The Anabaptists only are prosecuted, who had settled in Moravia. Their new apostle, Hutter, who travelled about making proselytes, is taken at Tyrol, and burned at Innsbrück.

This Hutter preached neither sedition nor slaughter, as most of his predecessors had done. He was a man infatuated with the simplicity of the primitive times, and would not allow even his own disciples to carry arms. He preached up reformation and equality, and therefore they burned him.

Philip, landgrave of Hesse, a prince worthy of greater power and better fortune, is the first who undertakes to re-unite the sects that are separated from the Roman communion, a project which has been since vainly attempted, and would have saved much blood to Europe. Martin Bucer was charged, in the name of the Sacramentarians, to reconcile them to the Lutherans. But Luther and Melancthon were inflexible, and in that show themselves more obstinate than cunning. The princes and the towns have in view the two objects, their religion, and the reduction of the imperial power to narrower bounds. Had it not been for this last article, there had been

no civil war. The Protestants persist in refusing to acknowledge Ferdinand for king of the Romans.

1532 — The emperor, made uneasy by the Protestants, and threatened by the Turks, stifles for some time the rising troubles, by granting to the Protestants all they asked in the Diet held at Nuremberg in the month of June, and suppressing all proceedings against them, gives them entire liberty even to the holding a council, nay, leaves even the rights of his brother, Ferdinand, undecided.

He could not have yielded more, but it was to the Turks the Lutherans owed this indulgence.

The condescension of Charles encourages the Protestants to manifest their duty. They furnish an army against Solyman, and raise, by way of common subsidy, one hundred and fifty thousand florins for that service. The pope exerts himself, by furnishing six thousand men and four million crowns. Charles draws troops out of Flanders and Naples. We now see an army of above one hundred thousand men, composed of nations different in their language and education, yet animated with the same spirit, to march against the common enemy. The count palatine, Philip, destroys a body of Turks who had advanced as far as Gratz in Styria. The flower of Solyman's numerous army is cut off, and he is obliged to retreat to Constantinople. Solyman, in spite of his great reputation, conducts this campaign with little judgment. He had in truth taken many wrong steps, bringing with him about two

hundred thousand slaves. This was waging war like a Tartar, and not like an experienced commander.

The emperor and his brother, after the departure of the Turks, disband their army, the greater part of which was auxiliary, and collected only for the present danger. But few troops remained under imperial ensigns. At that time everything was done of a sudden. There was no established fund for the maintenance of an army any long time, and very few designs were long followed. Seizing an opportunity was everything. Charles V. then made war in person, which others had so long made for him, for till that time, he had seen none but the siege of the little town of Mouzon, in 1521, ever since which having met nothing but good fortune, he had now inclined to partake of the glory.

1533 — He returns into Spain by way of Italy, leaving to his brother, the king of the Romans, the care of governing the Protestants.

He is no sooner in Spain, than his aunt, Catherine of Aragon, is repudiated by the king of England, and her marriage annulled by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. Clement VII. could no longer excuse himself from excommunicating Henry VIII.

The Milanese were still nearest the heart of Francis I. This prince seeing Charles peaceably inclined, but few troops in Lombardy, and Francis Sforza without children, endeavors to draw off the latter from the emperor's interest. He sends him secretly a minister named Maraviglia, born in the Milanese,

with orders not to assume any character, although he gave him credential letters.

The subject of this man's commission is seen into. Sforza, to clear himself with the emperor, quarrels with Maraviglia; a man is killed in the fray, and Sforza orders the minister's head to be struck off, nor is the king of France able to avenge it.

All that he can do is to secretly assist Ulric, duke of Würtemberg, to re-enter his duchy, and shake off the yoke of the house of Austria. This prince being a Protestant, expected his re-establishment from the League of Smalcald, and the king of France's assistance.

The princes of the league had sufficient authority in the Diet of Nuremberg to have it determined that Ferdinand, king of the Romans, should surrender the duchy of Würtemberg of which he was possessed. The Diet in this acted conformably to the laws. The duke had a son, who certainly ought not to be punished for the faults of his father. Ulric had not been guilty of treason against the empire, consequently his issue ought not to be deprived of his possessions.

Ferdinand promises to conform to the decree of the empire, but neglects it. Philip, landgrave of Hesse Cassel, surnamed very justly, the Magnanimous, takes the part of the duke of Würtemberg. He goes to France, borrows of the king one hundred thousand golden crowns, raises an army of fifteen

thousand men, and restores Würtemberg to its master.

Ferdinand sends troops thither under the command of the very count palatine, Philip the Warlike, who had beaten the Turks.

1534 — Philip the Magnanimous, of Hesse, beats Philip the Warlike. Then the king of the Romans submits to a composition.

Duke Ulric was re-established, but the duchy of Würtemberg declared a masculine fief of the arch-duchy of Austria, and as such ought to revert, in case of the failure of male issue, to the arch-ducal house.

In this year Henry VIII. separates himself from the Roman communion, and declares himself head of the English church. This revolution was made without the least trouble. In Germany it was very different. There religion caused much bloodshed, particularly in Westphalia.

The Sacramentarians at length became the most powerful in Münster, and drive out bishop Waldeck. The Anabaptists succeed to the Sacramentarians, and possess themselves of the town. This sect spreads itself in Friesland and Holland. A tailor of Leyden, named John, goes to the succor of his brethren with a troop of prophets and assassins. He caused himself to be proclaimed king, and solemnly crowned at Münster, on June 24.

Bishop Waldeck besieges the town, assisted by the troops of Cologne and Cleves. The Anabaptists

compare their enemy to Holofernes, and believe themselves the people of God. A woman, willing to imitate Judith, goes out of the town with the intention, but instead of returning to her Bethulia with the bishop's head, she is hanged in the camp.

1535.—Charles, at that time in Spain, meddles but little in the affairs of the Germanic body, which to him was a continual source of vexations, without the least advantage. He seeks for glory in another quarter. Too young enough in Germany to stand up against Solyman, he basically revenges himself on the Turks by sending his arms against the famous admiral, Cheredin, who has possessed himself of Tunis after having driven out the Lord, Muley Hassan. The dethroned African came to offer himself as a vassal to Charles, who passed over into Africa in the month of April, with thirty-three thousand men, two hundred transports, and one hundred and fifteen galleys. Upon this he granted him a truce, which was generally considered, of all the extraordinary measures in the Spanish territories. He joined some galleys to the Polish fleet. Charles goes to attack the army of Cheredin in person, which was superior in the number, but very ill disciplined.

CHARLES V

be made to speak nobly, or rather no words ought to be put into their mouths which they never said; almost all their harangues are fictions cooked up in history.

Charles gains a complete victory, and re-establishes Muley Hassan, who gives up to him the fortress of Goletta, with an extent of country for ten miles around, declaring himself and his successors vassals to the kings of Spain, submitting to pay, as a tribute, twenty thousand crowns a year.

Charles returns a conqueror to Sicily and Naples, bringing with him all the Christian slaves whom he had set at liberty, bestowing liberally among them wherewith to carry them to their respective homes. These were so many mouths who everywhere published his praises. Never did he enjoy before so fine a triumph.

In this zenith of glory, having repulsed Solyman, given a king to Tunis, and compelled Francis I. to abandon Italy, he presses Paul III. to call a council. The afflictions of the Roman Church daily increase.

Calvin began to rule in Geneva; the sect to which he had the credit of giving his name, spread itself in France, and was to be feared by the Roman Church, who scarcely retained more than the territory of the house of Austria and Poland.

In the meantime Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, dies, without children. Charles V. seizes on that duchy as a fief devolving to him. His power and

his riches increase. His will is a law in Italy, where he is more master than in Germany.

At Naples he celebrates the marriage of his natural daughter, Margaret, with Alexander de Medici, the created duke of Tuscany, in the most brilliant manner, whereby he increases the affection of the people.

1536 — Francis I. did not lose sight of the Milanese, that sepulchre of the French. He demands the investiture of it at least for his second son, Henry. The emperor gives him but empty words. He might have refused him plainly.

The house of Savoy was no longer attached to France, whose ally it had a great while been. The emperor had everything; there was scarcely a prince in Europe who had not some pretensions at the cost of his neighbors. The king of France had demands on the county of Nice, and on the marquisate of Saluzzo. He sends an army thither, which possesses itself of almost all the duke of Savoy's territories, which were not then what they are at this day.

France's real reason for having and keeping the Milanese was to command and fortify Piedmont; once mistress of the Alps, she had been, sooner or later, sovereign of Lombardy.

The duke of Savoy goes to Naples to implore the emperor's protection. This prince, although so powerful, had yet no army of consequence in Italy. It was the custom then to have them only for the present occasion, but he at length engages the Venetians

in his interests, as also the Swiss, who recall their troops from the French army. He soon augments his forces, and goes to Rome magnificently attended. He enters it in triumph, but not as a master, which he might formerly have done. He takes a seat at the consistory, below that of the pope. One is astonished to hear a victorious Roman emperor pleading his cause before the pope. He pronounces a discourse against Francis I., as Cicero had done against Antony. But he does what Cicero did not — proposes fighting his antagonist in a duel. There was in all this a mixture of the manners of antiquity, with the spirit of knight-errantry. After having spoken of duelling, he mentions the council. Pope Paul III. published the bull of convocation.

The king of France had sent troops sufficient to possess themselves of the duke of Savoy's territories, then left almost defenceless, but this army was not sufficiently formidable to resist one soon after led by the emperor, composed of a number of brave fellows, tutored by victories in Italy, Hungary, Flanders, and Africa.

Charles retakes all Piedmont, Turin excepted. He enters Provence with an army of fifty thousand men, while his fleet hovers on the coast, consisting of one hundred and forty vessels, commanded by Doria. All Provence, exclusive of Marseilles, is subdued and ravaged. He could at that time have revived the ancient rights of the empire upon Provence, Dauphiny, and the old kingdom of Arles.

He, on the other hand, presses France in Picardy with an army of Germans, which, under Count de Reux, takes Guise, and proceeds still farther.

In the midst of these disasters, Francis the Dauphin, son of Francis I., dies of a pleurisy at Lyons. Twenty authors have affirmed that the emperor caused him to be poisoned. No calumny can be more absurd, or more contemptible. What had the emperor to fear from a young prince who had never opposed him? What could he gain by his death? Of what mean, and of what shameful crime has he been guilty, to lay him under such a suspicion? They pretend there was poison found in the box of Montecuculi, a domestic of the dauphin's, brought into France by Catherine de Medici.

Montecuculi was quartered, because poison was found in his possession, and that the dauphin was dead.

The question was put to him, whether he had ever conversed with the emperor? He answered, that having been once presented to him by Antonio de Leva, that prince had asked him what order the king of France observed in his meals. Was this a reason strong enough to throw the suspicion of so abominable and useless a crime on Charles V.?

The invasion of Provence is fatal to the French, without being serviceable to the emperor, out of whose power it is to take Marseilles. A great part of his army is destroyed by sickness. He returns to Genoa on board his fleet. His other army is com-

pelled to evacuate Picardy. France, though on the brink of ruin, still holds out. That which had lost Naples to Francis I. loses Provence to Charles V. Enterprises so very distant from one another seldom succeed.

The emperor returns to Spain, leaving Italy subdued, France weakened, and Germany still in trouble.

The Anabaptists continue their depredations in Friesland, Holland, and Westphalia, which they call "Fighting the Lord's battles." They go to succor their prophet king, John of Leyden, and are defeated by George Schenk, governor of Friesland. The town of Münster is taken. John of Leyden and his principal accomplices are shown about in a cage, and afterwards torn with red-hot pincers. The Lutheran party increase their strength; animosities also increase. The League of Smalcald does not as yet produce a civil war.

1537 — Charles is not at ease in Spain. There is a necessity to support the war which Francis I. had inconsiderately begun, and still continued to wage against the emperor.

The Parliament of Paris summon the emperor, declare him a rebellious vassal, and deprive him of the fine provinces of Flanders, Artois, and Charolais. This edict surely was good, after his having conquered those provinces. The imperial troops, in spite of it, advance in Picardy. Francis I. goes in person to besiege Hesdin in Artois, but is

obliged to quit it. There are several trivial engagements fought, but the success of them undecisive.

Francis I. resolves to make a great stroke, and hazards Christianity to revenge himself on the emperor. He engaged with Solyman that he would invade the Milanese with a powerful army, at the same time that the Turks should make a descent on the kingdom of Naples and on Austria.

Solyman keeps his word, but Francis is too weak to be true to his. The famous captain, Pacha Cheredin, makes a descent, with part of his galleys, on Apulia, also near Otranto. He ravages the country, and carries off sixteen thousand Christian slaves. This is that Cheredin, viceroy of Algiers, whom authors call Barbarossa. This nickname had been given to his brother, who died in the year 1519, after having made some conquests on the coast of Barbary.

Solyman advances into Hungary. Ferdinand, king of the Romans, comes up with the Turks, between Buda and Belgrade. A bloody battle ensues, in which Ferdinand is put to flight, with the loss of twenty-four thousand men. One would have imagined Italy and Austria were in the hands of the Ottomans, and Francis I., master of Lombardy, but this is not the case. Barbarossa, not finding Francis I. appear to assist him in the Milanese, retreats with his booty and his slaves to Constantinople. Austria is left in security. The emperor had withdrawn his troops from Artois

and Picardy. His two sisters, the one Mary of Hungary, governess of the Low Countries, the other Eleonor of Portugal, wife of Francis I., having managed a treaty upon the frontiers, the emperor consents to it, that he may have fresh troops wherewith to oppose the Turks, and Francis I. is left at liberty to pass into Italy.

The dauphin Henry was already in Piedmont, where the French were masters of almost all the towns, some few excepted, which were defended by the marquis del Vasto, whom the French call Duguast. A treaty is then concluded for some months in this country. This was not making war seriously, after projects of so great and so dangerous a nature. He who lost most by this peace was the duke of Savoy, plundered by friends and enemies; for both Imperialists and French keep still the possession of most of his towns.

1538—The treaty between Charles V. and Francis I. is prolonged at the expense of the duke of Savoy for ten years.

Solyman is angry that his ally does not pursue his victory. All things are done by halves in this war.

Charles, having passed into Italy to conclude the treaty, marries his bastard daughter, widow of Alexander de Medici, to Octavio Farnese, grandson to a bastard of Paul, the third duke of Parma, Placentia, and Castro. These duchies had been formerly the inheritance of the countess Mathilda; she had

given them to the Church, and not to the pope's bastards. They have since been annexed to the duchy of Milan. Pope Julius II. joined them to the ecclesiastical state, whence they were detached by Paul III., who gave them to this son. The emperor might very justly have claimed the sovereignty of them; but he rather chose to favor the pope than quarrel with him.

After all these great preparations for defence, Francis I. retires from the frontiers of Piedmont, Charles V. takes the road of Spain, and meets Francis I. at Aguesmortes, with as much familiarity as if this prince had never been his prisoner, as if he had never given him the lie, as if he had never challenged him to single combat, as if the kings of France had not brought the Turks into the empire; and as if he had not suffered Charles V. to be treated as a poisoner.

1539 — Charles V. is informed in Spain that Ghent, the place in which he was born, is on the brink of revolting, in defence of its privileges. All the towns of the Low Countries have certain rights; no assistance was ever obtained in this flourishing country by arbitrary imposition. The states always furnished their sovereign, when it seemed needful, with a free gift, and the town of Ghent, from time immemorial, had enjoyed the prerogative of naming her own constitution. The states of Flanders having granted one hundred and twenty thousand florins to the governess of the Low Countries, ap-

point four hundred thousand to be raised on the people of Ghent, who oppose this encroachment, and refer to their privileges. The governess causes the principal citizens to be arrested; an insurrection ensues; the inhabitants take up arms; it was one of the richest and largest cities in Europe. They offer to give themselves up to the king of France, as to their sovereign; but he makes a merit of refusing their proposal; still flattering himself with hopes of obtaining from the emperor the investiture of Milan for one of his sons. And what ensues? He obtains neither Ghent nor Milan.

The emperor then demands a passage for himself through France, that he may punish the rebels of Ghent. The dauphin and the duke of Orleans receive him at Bayonne. Francis I. goes before him to Chateblerant. Charles V. enters Paris on January 1. The parliament and all the public bodies meet and compliment him without the walls of the town. They carry to him their keys. Prisoners are in his name set at liberty. He presides in parliament, and makes a knight. This act of authority in Sigismund was found fault with, in Charles V. it was approved. To create a knight at that time was only declaring a man noble, to which nobility was adjoined an honorable and useless title.

Knighthood had been in great esteem in Europe; but it had never been more than a name given insensibly to lords of fiefs, distinguished for their military achievements. By little and little these lords of fiefs

had erected knighthood into a sort of imaginary order, composed of religious ceremonies of virtue and debauchery. But this title of knight was never part of the constitution of a state; they never acknowledged any but feudal laws. A lord of a fief, when a knight, might be more respected than another in some castles, but it was not on the footing of a knight that he entered the diets of the empire, the states of France, the cortes of Spain, or the parliament of England, but on the footing of a baron, earl, a marquis, or a duke. The lords banneret in the army were called knights, but it was not in quality of knights that they had banners, no more than that they had castles and territories in quality of Worthies; but they only called them Worthy, because they were supposed to have done some worthy action.

In the main, that which is called knighthood belongs rather to romance than history. It was little more than an honorable mummery. Charles V. ought not to have created a bailiff of a town in France, because that is a real employment. He conferred the vain title of knight, and, in effect, the real part of this ceremony was his declaring a man to be noble who was not so. This nobility was acknowledged in France only by courtesy, out of respect to the emperor. But what is most likely is, that Charles V., by this procedure, would have insinuated a belief of the emperor's right to confer this title in every dominion. Sigismund had made one knight in France, Charles would therefore make

another; nor could this prerogative be refused to an emperor to whom they had granted that of setting prisoners at liberty.

Those who have imagined that the detaining Charles prisoner was a subject of debate, speak without any proof. Francis I. would have been guilty of the greatest infamy, if, through mean treachery, he had detained him prisoner, whose captive he had been by force of arms. There are some state crimes which have the sanction of custom. There are others which no custom can authorize, and which the chivalry of those times would have discountenanced. It is said that the king only exacted from him a promise of conferring the Milanese on the duke of Orleans, brother to the dauphin Henry, and that he satisfied himself with his bare word. Here he piqued himself more on his generosity than his cunning.

Charles enters Ghent at the head of two thousand horse and six thousand foot, which he brought with him. The people of Ghent might have raised eighty thousand armed men, yet they give him no opposition.

1540 — On May 12 the privileges of Ghent were taken from it, twenty-four of the principal citizens were hanged, the citadel razed to the ground, and the citizens condemned to advance, towards the rebuilding it, three hundred thousand ducats, and to furnish nine thousand ducats yearly for the support of the garrison. There is seldom a better use made

of law in the hands of the strong. When the blood of the ministers of Mary of Burgundy had been here shed before her eyes, the town escaped without punishment, while for supporting its real rights it was almost ruined.

Francis I. sends his wife, Eleonor, to Brussels to solicit the investiture of Milan; to facilitate which he not only renounces his alliance with the Turks, but enters into an offensive one with the pope against them. It was the emperor's design to make him lose his ally, and yet not to give him Milan.

The Lutheran religion, and the league of Smalcald, acquire new strength in Germany by the death of George of Saxony, the powerful sovereign of Meissen and Thuringia. He was a very zealous Catholic, and his brother, Henry, who continued the line, was a firm Lutheran. George, by his last will, disinherited his brother and his nephews, in case they did not return to the religion of their ancestors, and left his dominions to the house of Austria. This was quite a new case. No law of the empire could deprive a prince of his estate on account of his religion. John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and the brave landgrave of Hesse, George's kinsman, preserve the succession to the natural heir, by furnishing him with troops. Luther comes to preach among them, and the inhabitants here, as well as those of Saxony and Hesse, become Lutherans.

Lutheranism signalizes itself by tolerating polygamy. The wife of the landgrave, the daughter of

George, indulges her husband, whom she could not please, with leave to marry again. The landgrave, being in love with Margaret de Saal, daughter of a Saxon gentleman, proposes the question to Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer, whether he could, in conscience, have two wives, and whether the law of nature could, in this point, be reconciled to the Christian law. The three apostles, extremely confounded, give him, privately, their permission in writing. All husbands might be permitted to do the same; for, in case of conscience, a landgrave cannot be allowed greater liberties than another man. But this example was not followed. The difficulties ensuing from keeping two wives, exceeds greatly the disgust arising from having only one.

The emperor uses his best endeavors to overturn the League of Smalcald, and is able only to divide from it Albert of Brandenburg, surnamed Achilles. Several conferences are held between the Protestants and Catholics, the common consequence of all which is their being unable to agree.

1541 — On July 18, the emperor publishes, at Ratisbon, an interim, an inhalt, so it is commonly called, or an edict, whereby every person is left to his own belief without molestation.

This edict was necessary now, when armies were to be levied against the Turks. We have before remarked that numerous armies were only levied upon points of exigency. Solyman had been considered as the protector of John Zápolya, who had

always been competitor for the crown of Hungary with Ferdinand. This protection gave a pretext to the Turkish invasion; for John being dead, Solyman remained in the place of tutor to his son.

The imperial army besieges the young pupil of Solyman in Buda; but the Turks come to his assistance and give the Christians an irrecoverable overthrow.

The sultan at length, weary of fighting and conquering so often for Christians, seizes on Hungary as the reward of his victories, and leaves Transylvania to the young prince, who, according to his doctrine, could have no hereditary right to an elective kingdom, as Hungary was.

Ferdinand, king of the Romans, then offers to become tributary to Solyman, provided he will give him that kingdom, and is answered by the sultan, that he must renounce all claim to Hungary, and besides do him homage for Austria.

While things were in this situation, and the Turkish army diminished by the plague, Solyman returns to Constantinople; and Charles passes over into Italy. Instead of projecting the rescue of Hungary from the Turks, he prepares for an attack upon Algiers. This was being more attentive to the glory of Spain than that of the empire. Master of Tunis and Algiers, all Barbary would have been subjected to the Spanish yoke; while Germany was to defend itself against the Turks as well as it could. He lands on the coast of Algiers on October 23, with almost

as many people as attended him at the siege of Tunis. But a violent storm having sunk fifteen of his galleys, eighty-six of his vessels, and his troops having been annoyed on land by the Moors, and storms in conjunction, Charles is forced to re-embark on board the remainder of his ships, and arrives at Carthagena in November, with the ruins of his fleet and army. His reputation suffers considerably. He is blamed for his rashness in this undertaking; yet had he succeeded he had been still the avenger of Europe. The famous Hernan Cortes, the conqueror of so many American nations, served as a volunteer in this expedition against Algiers. Here he saw the difference between a small number of men, who know how to defend themselves, and multitudes who permit themselves to be overcome.

Why Solyman remained inactive after his conquests is inconceivable; but it is easy to see why Germany permitted it. Because the Catholic unite against the Protestant princes; it is because the league of Smalcald makes war against the duke of Brunswick, a Catholic, drives him out of his dominions, and sets at ransom all the ecclesiastics. It is, in fine, because the king of France, tired with the refusal of the investiture of the Milanese, prepares strong alliances and potent armies against the emperor.

The life of Charles V. and the empire were one continual tempest. The sultan, the pope, Venice, one-half of Germany and France were one or other

of them almost always against him; and sometimes all together. England was at one time a second, at another an adversary. No emperor was ever more feared; yet less to be feared.

Francis I. sends an ambassador to Constantinople and another to Venice, at one and the same time. He who was sent to Solyman was a native of Navarre, called Rinçone; the other Fregose, a Genoese. Both were assassinated on the Po, by the governor of Milan's order.

This murder was perfectly like that of Colonel St. Clair, assassinated in our time, as he returned from Constantinople to Sweden: these two events were either causes of, or pretexts for, a very bloody war. Charles V. disavows the assassination of the two ambassadors of the king of France. In truth, he looked on them as men born his subjects, and become infidels. But it is much better proved that man is born with a natural right to choose his own party, than it can possibly be that a prince has any right to assassinate his subjects. If this is one of the prerogatives of royalty it is very dreadful for it. Charles, in disavowing the action committed in his name, owned it, in effect, to be a most shameful crime. Politics and revenge equally spur the armaments of Francis I.

He sends the dauphin into Roussillon with an army of thirty thousand men, and his other son, the duke of Orleans, with the like number, into Luxemburg.

The duke of Cleves, heir to the duchy of Guelders, invaded by Charles V., was with Count Mansfeld in the duke of Orleans' army.

The king of France has still another army in Piedmont. The emperor is astonished to find France, which he had so often oppressed, still mistress of such a force, and so many resources. War is waged equally between them, without any advantageous decision for either one party or the other. The Council of Trent assemble during this war. The imperialists arrive there on January 28. The Protestants refuse to attend, and the council is suspended.

1543 — On August 26 is completed at Nuremberg that transaction of the duke of Lorraine with the Germanic body, whereby his duchy is acknowledged an independent sovereignty, and exempt from the charge of paying to the imperial chamber two-thirds of the tax of an elector.

In the meantime there is published a new league against Francis I., between Charles V. and Henry VIII. Thus do princes quarrel, and thus do they reunite. That very Henry VIII., whose excommunication Charles had procured, for having repudiated his aunt, allies himself to him who was thought to be his irreconcilable enemy. Charles at length attacks Guelderland, and possesses himself of all that country belonging to the duke of Cleves, ally to Francis I. The duke of Cleves asks him for pardon, upon his knees. The emperor makes him renounce

the sovereignty of the duchy of Guelders, and gives him the investiture of Cleves and of Juliers.

He takes Cambray, about which, although a free town, the empire and France had wrangled. No sooner had Charles V. leagued with the king of England to assail France, but Francis I. calls the Turks to his assistance a second time. Cheredin, their admiral, comes with galleys to Marseilles. He goes to the siege of Nice with the count d'Enghien. He takes that town, but the castle is succored by the Imperialists, and Cheredin withdraws to Toulon. This descent of the Turks was not memorable, because they had been armed in the name of the most Christian king.

At the same time Charles V. makes war against France and Picardy in Piedmont, and in Roussillon; while he treats with the pope and the Protestants, while he presses Germany to secure him from the Turkish invasions, he wages war against the king of Denmark.

Christian II., kept in prison by those who had been formerly his subjects, had made Charles V. heir to his three kingdoms, which he no longer possessed, and which were elective. Gustavus Vasa reigns peaceably in Sweden. The duke of Holstein had been elected king of Denmark in 1536. It was this king of Denmark, by name Christian III., who attacked the emperor of Holland with a fleet of forty ships. But a peace is soon arranged. This Christian III. renews with his two brothers, John and

Adolphus, the ancient treaty relating to the duchies of Holstein and of Schleswig. John and Adolphus, and their descendants, were to possess these duchies in common with the kings of Denmark.

Charles assembles at that time a great diet at Spires, at which Ferdinand, his brother, and all the electors and princes, Catholic as well as Protestant, are present. Charles V. and Ferdinand there demand succor against the Turks and against the king of France. There they gave Francis I. the names of Benegad, Barbarian, and the Enemy of God. The king of France intends to send ambassadors to this great diet. He despatches a herald to procure him a passport, and they put his herald in prison.

The diet grants him subsidies and troops; but these only for six months. They consist of but four thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; but a feeble assistance for a prince who had no great hereditary dominions.

The emperor cannot obtain this succor without doing much in favor of the Lutherans. He gains an important point by obtaining from this diet that the imperial chamber of Spires shall be made up of one-half Lutherans and the other half Catholics, of which the pope loudly but vainly complains.

The old admiral, Barbarossa, who had passed the winter at Toulon and Marseilles, again cruises on the coast of Italy, and carries off his galleys, laden with plunder and slaves, to Constantinople, where he

finished a career that had been a long time fatal to Christianity.

The king of France gathered a less odious and more honorable success from the battle of Cérisoles, which Count d'Enghien gained in Piedmont over the marquis del Vasto, a famous general of the emperor, on April 11. Yet this victory could not open a passage to the French in the Milanese, while the emperor penetrates to Soissons and menaces Paris.

Henry VIII. is, for his part, in Picardy. Notwithstanding the battle of Cérisoles, France is in more danger than ever. Nevertheless, by one of those mysteries which history can scarcely ever clear up, Francis I. makes an advantageous peace. To what can this be attributed, but the mistrusts mutually entertained of each other by the kings of France and of England? This peace is concluded on September 18, at Crépy. This treaty provides that the duke of Orleans, second son of the king of France, shall espouse a daughter, either of the emperor or of the king of the Romans, and that he shall have the Milanese, or the Low Countries. This appears to be a very extraordinary alternative. Charles, in parting with the Milanese, bestows only a fief of the empire, but in giving up the Low Countries he strips his son of his inheritance.

As for the king of England, his conquests are ended at the town of Boulogne, and France is preserved from every attempt.

1545 — The Council of Trent opens in the month of April. The Protestants declare that they will not acknowledge it for a council. The civil war begins. Henry, duke of Brunswick, stripped, as we have seen, of his possessions by the league of Smalcald, repossesses them by the assistance of his brother, the archbishop of Bremen, where he puts all to fire and sword.

Philip, the famous landgrave of Hesse, and Maurice of Saxony, the nephew of George, reduce him to the last extremities. He surrenders to these princes at discretion, marching bareheaded, together with his son Victor, among the troops of the conqueror. Charles approves of, and compliments these dangerous victors. He keeps fair with them as yet.

As soon as the council meets, Paul III., with the consent of the emperor, gives, in the most solemn manner, the investiture of Parma and Placentia to his eldest son, Peter Louis Farnese, whose son Octavius had already married the widow of Alexander de Medici, who was Charles V.'s bastard. This coronation of a pope's bastard made a strange contrast with the council convoked to reform the church.

The elector palatine made use of that opportunity to renounce the Roman communion. Luther dies soon after at Eisleben, Feb. 18, 1545, reckoning according to the old calendar. He had had the satisfaction of withdrawing one-half of Europe from the

Roman church, and he esteemed this glory beyond any that conquest can bestow.

1546 — The death of the duke of Orleans, who was to have married the emperor's daughter, and to have had either the Low Countries or the Milanese, removes one uneasiness of Charles. However, he had others that were very sufficient: the Protestant princes of the league of Smalcald had effectually divided Germany into two parties. In the one, there was scarcely more acknowledged than the name of emperor; in the other they did not openly disavow his authority, but then they respected it as little as if it had been entirely abolished among the Protestant princes.

These princes show their credit in managing the peace between the kings of France and of England. They send ambassadors to these two kingdoms; the peace is concluded, and Henry VIII. favors the league of Smalcald.

Lutheranism had made such progress that the elector of Cologne, Herman von Neuwied, although an archbishop, introduced it in his territories and waited only a fair opportunity to secularize both himself and his electorate. Paul III. excommunicates and deprives him of his archbishopric. A pope might excommunicate whom he pleased, but it was not so easy for him to deprive a prince of the empire of his dominions. To that Germany must consent. The pope in vain orders that they should acknowledge Adolphus de Schaumburg, the archbishop's

coadjutor, but not the elector's coadjutor. Charles V. always acknowledges the elector Herman, and threatens him to the end that he should give no assistance to the princes of the league of Smalcald; but the year following Herman is at length deposed, and Schaumburg has his electorate.

A civil war already begins on account of Henry of Brunswick, who is detained prisoner by the landgrave of Hesse. Albert of Brandenburg, margrave of Kulmbach, joins with John of Brunswick, the prisoner's nephew, to deliver and avenge him. The emperor encourages, and in an underhand way assists them.

At that time the troops of the princes and of the confederate towns take the field. Charles, no longer able to dissemble, begins by obtaining of Paul III. about ten thousand foot and five hundred light horse, for six months, paying two hundred thousand Roman crowns, and being granted a bull for levying one-half of one year's revenue belonging to the ecclesiastical benefices of Spain, and to alienate monasterial possessions to the amount of five hundred thousand crowns. He dared not have demanded the same concessions from the churches of Germany. The Lutherans were too near neighbors, and many churches would have rather secularized themselves than have submitted to pay.

The Protestants are already masters of all the passes of the Tyrol, and extend themselves thence to the Danube. The elector of Saxony, John Fred-

erick, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse, march by the way of Franconia. Philip, a prince of the house of Brunswick, and his four sons, three princes of Anhalt, and George of Würtemberg, uncle to duke Ulric, are all in his army. The counts of Oldenburg, of Mansfeld, of Ottingen, of Henneberg, of Fürstenberg, and many other princes, are seen at the head of their troops. The towns of Ulric, of Strasburg, of Nördlingen, and of Augsburg send out their forces also. There are eight regiments of Swiss Protestants. This army consisted of more than sixty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse.

The emperor, who had but very few troops, nevertheless acts as master, and puts the elector of Saxony under the ban of the empire at Ratisbon, on July 18. He soon has an army strong enough to support his edict. The ten thousand Italians sent by the pope arrive; six thousand Spaniards, being his old regiments from the Milanese and from Naples, join themselves to his Germans; but, though he should have three nations armed, he has not as yet an army equal to that of the league, when reinforced by the soldiery of the elector palatine.

There are several slight skirmishes. Several posts and towns, as in all other wars, are taken and retaken.

The emperor is preserved by a Protestant prince. Maurice, marquis of Meissen and Thuringia, of the house of Saxony, nephew to George, and kinsman to the landgrave of Hesse, the same to whom the land-

grave and elector of Saxony had preserved his dominions, and whose tutor the elector had been, forgets his duty to these, his neighbors, and sides with the emperor, who promises not to molest him in his religion of Lutheranism; and this assurance serves him as a pretext for his conduct towards his subjects.

He assembles ten thousand foot and three thousand horse; makes a diversion in Saxony; defeats the elector's troops, and is the first cause of the misfortune of the allies. The king of France sends them two hundred thousand crowns. This was enough to keep discord on foot, but not to make their party victorious.

The emperor gains ground daily. Most of the towns of Franconia surrender, and are heavily taxed.

The elector palatine, one of the princes of the league, throws himself at Charles's feet and asks his pardon. Almost all the country as far as Hesse-Cassel is subdued.

Then Pope Paul III. withdraws his ten thousand men, for whose service he had only articled six months. He fears assisting the emperor too much, even against the Protestants. Charles is not much weakened by this loss. The death of the king of England, Henry VIII., happens on January 28, and a disorder which at the same time hastens the dissolution of Francis I. deprives the league of Smalcald of two powerful protectors.

1547 — Charles easily succeeds in detaching the

old duke of Würtemberg from the league. He was so irritated at the revolts to which religion had given a pretext that he attempted establishing at Naples an inquisition of the same sort with that so long settled in Spain; but this tribunal is no sooner set up there than it is abolished, having caused a most violent sedition. The emperor liked much better draining the Neapolitans of money to assist him in suppressing the league of Smalcald than to persist in forcing upon them an inquisition, whence he could reap no advantage.

The league seems almost destroyed by the submission of the Palatinate and of Würtemberg, but acquires new strength from the junction of the citizens of Prague, and several of the cantons of Bohemia, who revolt against their sovereign, Ferdinand, and go to succor the confederates. Albert of Brandenburg, margrave of Kulmbach, surnamed Alcibiades, of whom we have often spoken, was in reality for the emperor; but his troops are defeated, and he is taken prisoner by the elector of Saxony.

To recompense the loss of the elector of Brandenburg, John the Severe, all Lutheran as he is, takes arms in favor of the head of the empire, and assists Ferdinand against the Bohemians.

All things were in confusion, and nothing heard of but battles and ravages towards the Elbe. At length the emperor passes the Elbe with a very strong army near Mühlberg, accompanied by his brother and his brother's children, Maximilian and

Ferdinand, the duke of Alva being his principal general.

The army of the duke of Saxony is attacked April 24. This battle of Mühlberg was decisive; and it is affirmed that in it there were but forty men killed on the side of the emperor. This is almost incredible. The elector of Saxony, being wounded, is taken prisoner, with the young prince Ernest of Brunswick. On May 12, Charles causes the elector to be condemned to lose his head, by advice of council. The severe duke of Alva presided at this trial. The secretary of the council signified his sentence to the elector on the same day, who was playing at chess with Prince Ernest of Brunswick.

Duke Maurice, who was to have had his electorate, has the easily acquired glory of obtaining pardon for him. Charles grants him his life, on condition that he renounce, for himself and his children, the electoral dignity in favor of Maurice. They leave him the town of Gotha and its dependencies, having first demolished the fortress. From him are descended the dukes of Gotha and of Weimar. Duke Maurice engages to pay him a pension of fifty thousand golden crowns yearly, and to advance him one hundred thousand at one time towards the payment of his debts. All those who had been made prisoners, particularly Albert of Brandenburg and Henry of Brunswick, were set at liberty; but the elector still remains the prisoner of Charles.

His wife, Sibylla, sister to the duke of Cleves,

tearfully throws herself at the emperor's feet to request her husband's liberty, but in vain.

The elector's allies are soon dispersed. The landgrave of Hesse thinks only of submitting, which he is allowed to do conditionally: that he come to embrace the knees of the emperor; that he raze all his fortresses, except Cassel or Zingenheim; paying besides one hundred and fifty thousand golden crowns.

The new elector, Maurice of Saxony, and the elector of Brandenburg, promise, under their hands, to the landgrave, that they will make no attempt upon his liberty. They give security, and consent to be summoned to a court of justice either by him or his children; and in case of failure, to undergo such treatment as the emperor shall think breach of faith deserves.

Upon these assurances the landgrave submits to everything. Granvelle, bishop of Arras, afterwards cardinal, settles the conditions, which Philip signed. We have always been assured that this prelate deceived the unfortunate prince, who had expressly stipulated that he should not be detained a prisoner in coming to ask the emperor's pardon. Granvelle wrote that he should not *always* be detained a prisoner. There needed but a *w* in place of an *in* to cause this strange difference in the German language. The words of the treaty ought to have been *nicht mit einigem Gefängniss,* and Granvelle wrote *ewigem.*

The landgrave was remiss in revising the treaty.

He imagined it was as it should have been, confiding in which, he went and threw himself at the emperor's feet. When he imagined that he might retire in safety, he was arrested and kept a long time in the emperor's train. The conqueror seized upon all the artillery of John Frederick, elector of Saxony, of the landgrave of Hesse, and also of the duke of Würtemberg. He confiscated the possessions of many of the chiefs of the party. He imposed taxes on all those whom he had vanquished, not excepting the towns that had only assisted them. It is pretended that in this manner he raised one million six hundred thousand golden crowns.

Ferdinand, king of the Romans, on his part punishes the Bohemians, depriving the citizens of Prague of their privileges and their arms, many of whom were condemned to death, and others to perpetual imprisonment. The taxes and confiscations were immense. These never fail to have a considerable part in the vengeance of sovereigns.

The Council of Trent was dispersed during these troubles. The pope was inclined to transfer it to Bologna.

The emperor had conquered the league, but not the Protestant religion. Those of that communion demand, in the Diet of Augsburg, that the Protestant divines shall have a deliberative voice in the council.

The emperor was more dissatisfied with the pope than with the Protestant divines. He could not forgive him for having recalled the troops of the Church

in the heat of the war of Smalcald. He makes him feel his anger on account of Parma and Placentia. He had permitted the holy father to give the investiture of it to his bastard son, when he had a mind to keep fair with him; but when dissatisfied, he recollected that Parma and Placentia are dependent on the Milanese, and that it was the emperor alone who ought to give the investiture. Pope Paul III., alarmed at the power of Charles V., negotiates against him with Henry II. and the Venetians.

In these circumstances, the son of the pope, odious for his crimes all over Italy, was assassinated by the conspirators. The emperor then possesses himself of Placentia, taking it from his kindred, notwithstanding his paternal tenderness for Margaret, his daughter.

1548 — The emperor quarrels with the pope and favors the Protestants a little more. He had always designed the council to be in some German town, and Pope Paul III. transferred it to Bologna. This added fresh fuel to the quarrel subsisting on account of Placentia. On the one side the pope threatened the emperor with excommunication, and thereby gave the Protestants a new opportunity of reflecting on him, who held the spiritual arms employed by the pope in favor of his children, in that ridiculous light they merited. On the other hand, Charles V. made himself in some measure the head of religion in Germany.

On May 15 the Grand Interim was published in

the Diet of Augsburg. This was a formulary of faith and discipline; the tenets were Catholic, except that they permitted the communion in both kinds to the laity and marriage to the priests. Many indifferent ceremonies were sacrificed to the Lutherans, to engage them to receive such things as were more essential.

This regulation was reasonable; therefore it contented nobody. The people were too unsettled. Both the Papists and the Lutherans complained, and Charles V. perceives that to win battles is easier than to govern opinions. Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, in order to oblige him, in vain endeavors to have the new form received in his dominions; but the Protestant ministers were stronger than he. The elector of Brandenburg and the elector palatine receive the Interim. The landgrave of Hesse submits to it in hope of obtaining his liberty, in which he is nevertheless deceived.

John Frederick, the former elector of Saxony, although a prisoner, refuses to sign it. His example is followed by many princes and several towns. The clergy in general cry out against the peace presented them by the Interim.

The emperor contents himself with threatening them; and as he leans more to the pope than to the Lutherans at that time, he decrees by the diet that the council should return to Trent, and charges himself with the care of transferring it.

The Low Countries are in this diet put under the

care of the Germanic body. They are declared free from the taxes which the states were to pay the empire, and from the jurisdiction of the imperial chamber, though included in the tenth circle. They are not obliged to be in any way serviceable to the empire, but in case of a war with the Turks, then they were to contribute as much as three electors. These rules were subscribed by Charles V. on June 26. The people of Valais are put under the imperial ban on account of not having paid their taxes, from which they are this day exempt, because they are known to have become free.

The city of Constance does not receive the Interim until it is put under the ban of the empire.

The city of Strasburg prevails so far as to procure the Interim to take effect in that district with respect only to the Catholic churches, and that Lutheranism shall be publicly professed.

Christian III., king of Denmark, receives the investiture of the duchy of Holstein, in common with his brothers, John and Adolphus, by the hands of his ambassadors.

Maximilian, son of Ferdinand, espouses Mary, his cousin, the emperor's daughter. This marriage is celebrated at Valladolid towards the latter part of September, and Maximilian and Mary are conjointly regents of Spain, which is, notwithstanding, governed by a council named by Charles V.

1549 — The emperor retired to Brussels, causes

the provinces of Flanders, Hainault, and the Artois to do homage to his eldest son, Philip.

The Council of Trent is still divided. There were some few prelates there in the emperor's interest. The pope had called together some others at Bologna. A schism was much dreaded. The pope indeed feared that the house of Bentivoglio would, under the emperor's protection, re-enter Bologna, of which Julius II. had dispossessed them. He dissolves the Council of Bologna.

Octavio Farnese, kinsman to Charles V. and grandson to Paul III., has equal cause to complain of his father-in-law and his grandfather. His father-in-law detains Placentia away from him, being at variance with the pope; and his grandfather keeps him out of Parma, because he had a dispute with the emperor. He attempts, however, to seize upon Parma without success. It is pretended that the pope died of the griefs heaped upon him by his family and the emperor; but ought not they who advance this to remember to add, that he was eighty-one years of age?

1550 — The arms of Solyman were turned towards the Euphrates, so that the empire was not at all disturbed by the Turks. The Persians preserve Austria, but the Turks remain still masters of the greatest part of Hungary.

Henry II., king of France, seems very easy. The affairs of the council and those of Placentia gave considerable uneasiness to the new pope, Julius III.

The emperor has the better in the Interim, which is still the occasion of vexation in Germany. What must people think to see men so little scrupulous as Paul III., Julius III. and Charles V. decide upon religion?

The powerful town of Magdeburg was in league with the town of Bremen, and carried on a war against the duke of Mecklenburg. The emperor condemns these two towns, and commits the reduction of Magdeburg to Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, whom he irritates by giving him this mark of his confidence. Maurice justifies the ambition which had stripped his tutor and his kinsman of the electorate of Saxony, by the laws attaching him to the head of the empire. But he thought his honor lost by the imprisonment of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse; who, notwithstanding his security and that of the elector of Brandenburg, was still detained a captive. These two princes press the emperor continually to redeem their word. Charles takes the singular resolution of freeing them from their promise. The landgrave endeavors to escape, which cost some of his domestics their heads.

The elector of Saxony, thus dissatisfied with Charles V., is in no great haste to fight for an emperor whose power all the princes felt so despotic. He does nothing against Magdeburg. He lets them quietly beat the duke of Mecklenburg, whom they take prisoner, and the emperor begins to repent that he had given Maurice the electorate. He

had too much reason to be sorry for it. It was Maurice's intention to make himself head of the Protestant party, and to engage in his interests several towns as well as Magdeburg, and by the means of this newly-acquired power to balance that of the emperor. Upon these principles he already treats with Henry II., and a new storm is brewing in the empire.

1551 — Charles V., whom one would have imagined in the fulness of power, was nevertheless prodigiously embarrassed. The Protestant party could not be attached to him, nor yet could they be destroyed. The affair of Parma and Placentia, in which the king of France began to meddle, exhibited the prospect of an approaching war. The Turks were still in Hungary, and in Bohemia almost everybody revolted against his brother, Ferdinand.

Charles imagined he should give additional weight to his authority by engaging his brother to part with his title of king of the Romans, and his claim of succeeding to the empire, in favor of his son, Philip. Paternal tenderness might have suggested this design, but it is certain that the imperial authority stood in need of a chief who, being master of Spain and of the new world, had been also sufficiently powerful to control at the same time his enemies and the princes of the empire. It is also certain that the princes saw thereby their prerogatives in danger, and submitted, not without difficulty, to the emper-

or's views. They contributed only to incense Ferdinand, and embroil the two brothers.

Charles comes to an open rupture with Ferdinand, demands the deposition of the electors, and requires their votes in favor of his son. He reaps nothing from this undertaking but the mortification of being refused, and of seeing the elector palatine with the electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg openly oppose his design.

The elector Maurice at length enters Magdeburg upon condition that, though he had taken this town in the name of the emperor, he subdued it for himself. The same ambition which had prompted him to receive the electorate of Saxony at the hands of Charles V. now spurred him on to unite against that prince with Joachim, elector of Brandenburg; Frederick, the count palatine; Christopher, duke of Würtemberg; Ernest, marquis of Baden-Durlach, and several other princes. This league was infinitely more dangerous than that of Smalcald. Henry II., king of France, a young, enterprising prince, joins the league. He was to furnish two hundred and forty thousand crowns during the first three months of the war, and sixty thousand crowns each month following. He makes himself master of Cambray, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, protecting them as vicar of the empire; a singular sort of title, which he then assumed for a pretext as if he had been really one.

The king of France had already seized on the affair of Parma as a sufficient cause for carrying the war

into Italy. It does not appear in the order of things that it was he who should have protected Octavio Farnese against the emperor, his father-in-law; but it was very natural for Henry II. to leave nothing unessayed towards the recovery of the duchy of Milan, to which his predecessors had always pretensions.

Henry also unites with the Turks, according to the plan of Francis I., and the admiral Dragut, a man not less formidable than Cheredin, surnamed Barbarossa, had been, made a descent upon the coast of Sicily, and pillaged the town of Augusta.

The army of Solyman at the same time advances in Hungary. Julius III. was the only person who took the part of Charles V., with whom he united against his kinsman, Octavio Farnese; though at bottom the interests and pretensions of the pope and the emperor were very different, each pretending a right of sovereignty over Parma and Placentia.

The French also carry the war into Piedmont and Montferrat. The emperor is at one and the same time obliged to oppose a formidable army of Turks in Hungary, one-half of Germany leagued and armed against him, and a king of France, young, rich and well served, impatient to signalize himself and to repair the misfortunes of his predecessors.

Charles and Ferdinand are reconciled by interest and danger. They have at length some success in Hungary.

Ferdinand was at the same time happy enough to

get Transylvania. The widow of John Zápolya, queen of Hungary, who was a queen only in name, governed Transylvania in the name of her son, Stephen Sigismund, under the protection of the Turks; a protection so very tyrannical that she was weary of it. She is induced by Martinusius, bishop of Waradin, afterwards cardinal, to exchange Transylvania with Ferdinand for some possessions in Silesia, such as Oppeln and Ratibor. Never did queen make so bad a bargain. Ferdinand declares Martinusius vaivode of Transylvania. This cardinal governs in Ferdinand's name, with authority and courage. He puts himself at the head of the Transylvanians to march against the Turks, whom he assists the Imperialists to repel. But Ferdinand, beginning to mistrust him, causes him to be assassinated by Pallavicino in the castle of Wintz.

The pope was at that time too closely connected with the emperor to dare inquire into the cause of this assassination. However, he excommunicated Ferdinand the year following—an excommunication productive of neither noise nor effect, being one of those which have been often called *brutum fulmen*. It was nevertheless put in practice, when such men as spoke in the name of the Divinity imagined they had a right in His name to set themselves above such sovereigns as abused their power to excess; but those who judge of kings ought themselves to be irreprehensible.

1552 — Maurice, the elector of Saxony, throws off

his mask and publishes a manifesto, declaring himself allied to the king of France, to obtain the liberty of John Frederick, the very man whom he had dispossessed, the enlargement of the landgrave of Hesse, and for the support of his religion.

He is joined by Joachim, elector of Brandenburg. William, son of the imprisoned landgrave of Hesse; Henry Otho, elector palatine, and Albert of Mecklenburg, are up in arms before the emperor has drawn together any troops.

Maurice and his confederates march to the defiles of Tyrol, and drive out the few Imperialists who possessed them. The emperor and his brother Ferdinand are nigh being taken prisoners, and save themselves by a disorderly flight. Charles always carries with him the old elector of Saxony as a prisoner. He offers him his liberty. That he refused to accept it is almost unaccountable. Perhaps, if the truth was known, the emperor did not offer it.

Nevertheless, about the beginning of April, the king of France seizes upon Verdun, Toul, and Metz. He takes Hagenau and Weissenburg. Thence he turns off towards Luxemburg and possesses himself of several towns.

To add to the emperor's disgraces, he is informed in his flight that the pope had abandoned his interest and declared himself neutral between France and him. It was about this time that his brother Ferdinand was excommunicated. It had been much more to the pope's honor that these censures were not

passed at a time when they seemed the effects of politics.

In the midst of these troubles the fathers of the council withdraw themselves from Trent, and the council is again suspended.

In these unhappy times all Germany is a prey to devastation. Albert of Brandenburg plunders all the commanderies of the Teutonic order, as well as Bamberg, Nuremberg, Würzburg, and many towns of Suabia. The confederates destroy by fire and sword the dominions of the elector of Mentz, Worms, Spires, and lay siege to Frankfort.

In the meantime the emperor, having retired to Passau and assembled an army after so many disgraces, brings the confederates into bounds. A peace is concluded on August 12. By this renowned Peace of Passau he grants a general amnesty to all who had borne arms against him since the year 1546. The Protestants not only obtain a free exercise of their religion, but are also admitted into the imperial chamber, whence after the victory of Mühlberg they had been excluded. It is some matter of surprise that the liberty of the landgrave of Hesse was not included in this treaty, he remaining still confined in the fort of Rheinfels until he should give security for his fidelity. Nor is it less wonderful that nothing was stipulated in favor of John Frederick, the former elector of Saxony.

The emperor, nevertheless, a short time after, sets this unfortunate prince at liberty and permits

him to return into Thuringia, of which he was still master.

The happy Maurice of Saxony, having crowned his religion with laurels and humbled the emperor, enjoys the additional glory of defending him. He leads sixteen thousand men into Hungary; notwithstanding such assistance Ferdinand finds it impossible to keep possession of Upper Hungary without submitting to the states and paying an annual tribute of twenty thousand golden crowns to Solyman.

This was a hapless year for Charles V. Piedmont, Montferrat, and Parma were overrun with French troops, and more powerful invasions were to be feared in the Milanese and the kingdom of Naples. Dragut infests all the Italian coasts.

Notwithstanding the taxes imposed upon the Germans after the battle of Mühlberg, and the treasures of Mexico, Charles's finances were drained. The vast extent of his territories, his voyages, and his wars, absorb them all. He borrows two hundred thousand golden crowns from the duke of Florence, Count de Medici, and gives him the sovereignty of Piombino and of the island of Elba. With his assistance he supports himself in some measure in Italy, and lays siege to Metz with a powerful army.

Albert of Brandenburg, the only Protestant prince who still held out against him, is reconciled and joins his forces; but the famous Francis, duke of Guise, who defended Metz with the flower of the French nobility, obliges them, on December 26, to

raise the siege, after having lain sixty-five days before the town. Charles loses in this undertaking more than one-third of his army.

1553 — Charles, to revenge himself for the insult that had been offered him at Metz, sends the counts de Lalain and de Rœux to lay siege to Térouane, which town is taken and destroyed.

Philibert Emanuel, prince of Piedmont, afterwards duke of Savoy, who soon became one of the greatest generals of the age, is put at the head of the imperial army. He takes Hesdin, which is razed to the ground in the same manner as Térouane. But the duke of Arscot, who commanded a considerable body of troops, suffers himself to be beaten, and the fortune of Charles is again at a stand.

The affairs of Italy remain in the same situation; nor are those of Germany settled. The restless Albert of Brandenburg, called Alcibiades, still heads a body of troops that subsist only by pillage. He ravages the dominions of Henry of Brunswick, and of Maurice, elector of Saxony.

The elector Maurice gives him battle near Hildesheim in the month of July, in which he defeats Albert, but is himself killed. This prince, though but thirty-two years of age, had acquired the character of a good commander and a great politician. He is succeeded by his brother, Augustus.

Albert the Alcibiades still continues the civil war. The imperial chamber proceeds against him; notwithstanding which he continues his depreda-

tions, but at length, wanting men and money, takes refuge in France. The emperor, better to secure that prodigious power, which had received so many additions and diminutions, concludes the marriage of his son, Philip, with Mary, queen of England, daughter of Henry VIII. by Catharine of Aragon.

Though the parliament of England made it an additional clause in the marriage contract that the alliance between England and France should still subsist, Charles had nevertheless hopes, and those not ill-grounded, that this alliance would soon be broken. It was in reality to arm England against France that he gave that kingdom to his son as sovereign, and had Mary had children, the house of Austria would have seen all the states of Europe from the Baltic Sea, France excepted, subservient to its laws.

1554 — Charles gives up the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to his son Philip, before that prince embarks for England, where he lands in July, and is crowned with Mary, his spouse, in the same manner as King William has since been crowned with another Mary, but with nothing of William's power.

The war between Charles V. and Henry II. is still carried on upon the frontiers of France and Italy with varying success, but still in a sort of equilibrium.

The troops of France still remained in Piedmont and Montferrat, though their number was inconsiderable. Nor were the forces of the emperor in the

Milanese very numerous. It seemed as if they were drained on both sides..

Cosmo, duke of Florence, takes up arms in behalf of the emperor. Siena, apprehensive of falling one day into the power of the Florentines, as it afterwards happened, was protected by the French. Medichino, marquis of Marignan, general of the Florentine forces, gains a victory over the French troops and their allies on August 2. In commemoration of this victory, which was gained on St. Stephen's day, Cosmo instituted the order distinguished by the name of this saint.

1555 — Ernest, count of Mansfeld, governor of Luxemburg, was very near to getting possession of the town of Metz, by the intrigues of a Franciscan friar, though the emperor had not been able to subdue it with fifty thousand men. This friar's name was Leonard. He was keeper of a convent, had been confessor to the duke of Guise, and was greatly respected in the town. Through his means, for several days, many German, Spanish, and Italian veterans entered the town disguised like Franciscan friars, under pretence of a general chapter, which was soon to be held therein.

The conspiracy was discovered by a Carthusian; Father Leonard is arrested, and found dead on the following day. His body is carried to the gallows, and the people are satisfied with making eighteen Franciscan friars assist at his gibbeting.

The ancient papal policy revives under Pope

Paul IV., of the house of Caraffa. This policy, as has been seen in the course of this work, was always to prevent the emperor from becoming too powerful in Italy.

The pope seems to have forgotten the Council of Trent. All his thoughts are bent upon making war in the kingdom of Naples and the Milanese with the assistance of France, to procure if possible, these principalities for his nephews. In case Henry II. shall furnish new troops, he engages to join them with ten thousand men.

The war begins to grow more spirited than ever. Charles saw it impossible for him to have one peaceful moment. He was tormented by the gout, and the weight of such a variety of affairs became painful to him. He had for a long time borne a principal part in all the transactions of Europe. He resolves to finish his course by the most singular action of his life, that of abdicating his crowns and the empire.

While he prepared to renounce so many sovereignties that he might seclude himself in a monastery, he confirms the liberty of the Protestants in the Diet of Augsburg. He gives up to them the ecclesiastical revenues upon which they had seized, and on their account, the form of oath administered to the councillors of the imperial chamber is changed to swearing by the gospel, instead of by the saints as formerly. Thus does the conqueror of Mühlberg

give way to necessity, and on the eve of assuming the monkish cowl, acts like a philosopher.

On November 24, he surrenders the Low Countries to his son Philip, in presence of the states assembled at Brussels; and Spain, and the new world, together with the hereditary province, on January 10, following.

He pardons his kinsman, Octavio Farnese, giving up to him Placentia and the Novarese, after which he prepares himself to surrender the empire to his brother, the king of the Romans.

1556—All things disgusted him. The Turks were masters of part of Hungary as far as Buda, and troublesome to the rest. The Transylvanians bore their yoke impatiently. Protestantism spread itself in Austria, and the emperor had for a long time determined to divest himself of so many cares. Burdened with a premature and infirm old age, yet master of a soul free from illusion, not being able to cede the empire to his son, he gives it up to his brother, demanding previously the consent of the holy see; he certainly had not made this demand when elected emperor himself.

Pope Paul IV. abuses the submission of Charles V. by sending him a refusal. This pontiff was extremely well satisfied to see him quit the empire, and to mortify him at the same time.

Charles V., without consulting the pope any more, sends his abdication to Brussels on Sept. 17, 1556, and in the thirty-sixth year of his reign.

The Prince of Orange carries the crown and imperial sceptre to Ferdinand. Charles soon after embarks for Spain, and shuts himself up at Estremadura in the monastery of St. Yuste, of the order of St. Jerome.

It is a common notion that he repented of this proceeding; but this is an opinion founded merely on human weakness, which believes it impossible to quit without regret that which is so furiously envied by the world. Charles absolutely no more thought of that theatre, on which he had played so considerable a part, nor yet of the world which he had troubled.

Paul IV. engages the ecclesiastical electors neither to accept of the dismission of Charles V. nor to acknowledge Ferdinand. It was his business to sow the seeds of discord in the empire, his power in Italy acquiring thence new strength; and in truth, all the acts of the empire were published in the name of Charles V. until his death; a fact as important as it is true, and yet not taken notice of by any historian.

FERDINAND I.

FORTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

1557.—The abdication of Charles V. leaves confirmed the power of the German princes. The house of Austria, divided into two branches, is as yet the most considerable in Europe; but the Spanish

branch, far superior to the other, entirely engrossed by views very different from that of the empire, no longer permits the Spanish, Italian, and Flemish troops to contribute to the imperial greatness.

Ferdinand has large possessions in Germany; but Upper Hungary, which is his, scarcely affords him sufficiency to maintain such troops as were necessary to make head against the Turks. The Bohemians seemed to bear their yoke with regret, and it is impossible for Ferdinand to be powerful, independent of the empire.

The first year of his reign is distinguished by the Diet of Ratisbon, which confirms the peace of religion, by reconciling the house of Hesse to that of Nassau.

The elector palatine, the elector of Saxony, and the duke of Cleves, who were chosen as umpires, adjudge the counties of Darmstadt to Philip, landgrave of Hesse, and the county of Diatz to William of Nassau.

This year is marked by a sort of war, waged by an archbishop of Bremen, of the house of Brunswick, against Friesland. And here is evinced the vast utility of the wise institution of circles, and of directors of circles, set on foot by Frederick III. and Maximilian. The assembly of the circle of Lower Saxony re-establishes peace.

At length on February 28, the electors confirm the abdication of Charles and the sway of his brother, at Frankfort. An embassy is sent to the

pope, which he refuses to receive, still pretending Ferdinand was not emperor. The ambassadors protest, and then withdraw from Rome; Ferdinand is not the less acknowledged in Germany.

The duchy of Schleswig is still acknowledged independent of the empire.

1558—On Sept. 21, 1558, happens that great event, the death of Charles V. It is well known that, through a whimsical sort of devotion, a short time before his last illness, he caused his obsequies to be celebrated, himself assisting as a mourner; nay, that he was stretched on the bier in the middle of the church of St. Yuste, while they sang "*De Profundis.*" In this last action of his life he seemed to have possessed a little of the spirit of Joanna, his mother, and yet upon the throne he had always conducted himself like a politician, a hero, and a man not insensible to his pleasures. How many contrarieties united in his disposition! who, though possessed of more than monkish devotion, was supposed at his death to hold several of Luther's tenets. To what lengths will not human weakness and extravagance extend! Maximilian would willingly be pope. Charles V., though he died a monk, yet at his death is suspected of heresy.

Since the funeral rites of Alexander, nothing had been so superb as the obsequies of Charles V. in the manner in which they were conducted in the principal towns of his dominions. At Brussels they cost seventy thousand ducats. Expenses as noble

as these contribute to illustrate the memory of a great man, while they employ and encourage arts. Yet more durable monuments should have been raised than a show, transitory like this, which is certainly far from being sufficient. Something ought to be erected to immortality.

1559 — Ferdinand holds a diet at Augsburg, in which the ambassadors of Henry II., king of France, are introduced. France had just made peace at Cateau-Cambrésis with Philip II., king of Spain. The French by this peace preserved in Italy only Turin, and some other towns, which they afterwards gave up; but they kept Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which the emperor might have demanded, yet they are hardly spoken of in the diet. It is barely hinted to the ambassadors that, while France keeps possession of these three towns, it will be extremely hard for a good understanding to subsist between France and Germany.

The new pope, Pius IV., is not so inflexible as Paul IV., but soon acknowledges Ferdinand for emperor.

1560 — On November 29, the Council of Trent, after having been so long suspended, is at length re-established by a bull of Pius IV. He gives notice of the assembling of this council to all sovereigns; he even signifies it to the Protestant princes of Germany. But as the address of his letters was: "To our most dear son," those who did not choose to

acknowledge themselves children of the pope, send back his letter unopened.

1561 — Livonia, which had hitherto belonged to the empire, is divided from it and given up to Poland. The knights of Livonia, who were a branch of the knights of the Teutonic order, had been a long time masters of this province under the imperial protection. But these knights, unable to resist the Muscovites, and receiving no succor from Germany, give up this province to Poland. Sigismund, king of Poland, confers the duchy of Poland and the dignity of viceroy of Livonia on Godar Ketler. The meetings of the Council of Trent begin.

1562 — The ambassador of Bavaria contends with that of Venice for precedence. The Venetians are maintained in possession of their rank. The communion by bread and wine is one of the first things discussed in this council. The council neither allows nor forbids it to the seculars. The decree barely states, that the Church has very just reasons for prohibiting it, and that the fathers shall conduct themselves in this affair, entirely by the judgment of the pope, which shall be to them decisive.

On November 24 the electors at Frankfort unanimously declare Maximilian, son of Ferdinand, king of the Romans.

All the electors assist personally in their several functions at this ceremony, according to the tenure of the golden bull. This solemnity was rendered the

more glorious by the presence of an ambassador from Solyman, who signs a peace between the two emperors, whereby the limits of Austrian and Ottoman Hungary are regulated. Solyman begins to grow old, and is not so terrible as he has been. Nevertheless, this peace was of no long duration; but it was made at a time when the body of the empire was easy and happy.

1563 — This year is memorable for the dissolution of the Council of Trent. This long council, which was the last general one, neither served to soften nor subdue the enemies of the Roman church. They published some edicts concerning discipline, which were scarcely admitted in any Catholic country, and were not productive of any one great event.

The Council of Basel had rent the Church and set up an antipope. That of Constance kindled the fires of persecution, and was the cause of thirty years' war. That of Lyons deposed an emperor, and drew upon it his vengeance. That of Lateran stripped Count Raymond of his dominion of Toulouse, and Gregory VII., by the excommunication of Henry IV. in the eighth council of Rome, set all things in a flame. The fourth council of Constantinople, which was held against Photius in the time of Charles the Bald, was a scene of many disputes. The second of Nicæa, under Irenæus, was still more tumultuous and more disturbed by the disputes about images. The disputes of the Mono-

thelites were very near making the third council of Constantinople a bloody one. It is well known that great divisions actuated the councils held, on account of Arius. The Council of Trent was the only one which had been conducted with moderation.

1564 — On July 25 Ferdinand dies. A will that he had made twenty years before, that is in the year 1543, and which he did not contradict in his last moments, scattered afar the seeds of that war, which disturbed Europe almost two hundred years after.

This famous testament of 1543, stipulates that, in case of the failure of the male issue of either Ferdinand or Charles V., the Austrian territories shall revert to his daughter, Anne, and her issue. She was the second daughter of Ferdinand, and wife of Albert II., duke of Bavaria. This foreseen event happened in our days, and embroiled all Europe. Many unhappy occurrences would have been prevented, if the will of Ferdinand, as well as the marriage contract of his daughter, had been more clearly expressed.

It may be remarked, that this Anne, duchess of Bavaria, assumed the title of queen of Hungary in her marriage contract, as well as the rest of her sisters. They might indeed have called her queen without her being one, as she was called archduchess without possessing any archduchy. However, this custom was not followed.

Ferdinand, besides, by his last will, left Hungary,

Bohemia, and Upper and Lower Austria, to his son, Maximilian, king of the Romans. To his second son, Ferdinand, he bequeathed Tyrol and anterior Austria. To Charles he left Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and all his possessions in Istria.

The Austrian dominions were at that time all divided; but the empire, which still remained in that house, was the standard under which all the princes of that house reunited.

Ferdinand was neither crowned in Lombardy nor in Rome. The inutility of these ceremonies began to be perceived, and it was much more essential for the two principal branches of the imperial house, Spain and Austria, to hold a good intelligence with each other. It is that which renders Italy submissive, and brings the holy see to a dependence on that house.

MAXIMILIAN II.

FORTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1564 —The empire, as we have already seen, without ceasing to be elective, becomes hereditary. The emperors since the time of Charles V. desist from crossing the Alps, to seek either an iron crown, or one of gold. The power of most weight in Italy was that of Philip II., who, though at the same time a vassal to the empire and to the holy see, governed not only in Italy but in Rome by his politics, and by the riches of the new world; the first gleanings

of which, and no more, his father had possessed, but he enjoyed its real sweets.

The empire under Maximilian II., as under Ferdinand I., was certainly Germany, paramount of Lombardy; but this Lombardy, being in the hands of Philip II., belonged rather to an ally than a vassal. Hungary became a dominion of the house of Austria, a dominion that constantly opposed the Turks, and was at it were the bulwark of Germany.

Maximilian, in the first year of his reign, is obliged, as his father and grandfather had been before, to carry on a war against Solyman.

This sultan, who had defeated the generals of Charles V. and of Ferdinand, makes war in the latter part of his life by his lieutenants. Transylvania furnished him with a pretext, where he wanted always to name a tributary vaivode, and John Sigismund, son of that queen of Hungary who had ceded her rights for some villages in Silesia, had put his hereditary dominions under the sultan's protection, choosing rather to be a sovereign and tributary to the Turks than a simple lord. The war is carried on in Hungary; and, in the month of January, Maximilian's generals take Tokay. Augustus, elector of Saxony, is the only prince who assists the emperor in this war. The thoughts of all the princes, both Catholic and Protestant, were bent on strengthening themselves. Religion at that time engrossed the attention of the people more than it

had ever divided them. The greater part of the Catholics in Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, in acknowledging the Council of Trent, stipulate barely, that they shall be admitted to communion with bread and wine; and the priests, who, before the breaking up of the Council of Trent, had been permitted to marry, desire that they may keep their wives. Maximilian II. prefers these two requests to the pope. Pope Pius IV., to whom the council had left the decision of the sacrament, allows the German laity to communicate as they please, but refuses leave to the priests to marry; besides, the laity were afterwards deprived of wine in their communion.

1565 — A treaty is made with the Turks, who still remain masters of Buda, and the prince of Transylvania continues under their protection.

Solyman sends Bacha Mustapha to besiege Zigeth. Nothing is better known than this siege, in which the fortune of Solyman expired.

1566 — Notwithstanding the weakness of the imperial power ever since the treaty of Passau, the legislative authority was still vested in the emperor; and was quite effectual when the princes, with whom it had to deal, were not too powerful.

Maximilian II. employs this authority against John Albert, duke of Mecklenburg, and Ulric, his brother; each of whom pretends to equal rights in the town of Rostock, from which the inhabitants of the town prove themselves to be exempt, whom the

two brothers make war upon, and unite in plundering.

The emperor has the credit of terminating this difference by an imperial commission.

Solyman's fleet takes the town of Chio from the Venetians. Maximilian thence takes occasion to demand in the Diet of Augsburg more powerful succors than had been granted to Charles V. in the time that Solyman was before Vienna. The Diet orders soldiers to be raised for him, and grants him the *Roman Months* for three years; a thing that they had never done before.

Count Serini, who commanded in Zigeth, is killed in defending it, after having with his own hand set the town on fire. The grand vizier sends his head to Maximilian with a message, that he ought to have hazarded his own head in coming to the defence of that town, since he had under his command one hundred and twenty thousand men.

The army of Maximilian, the death of Solyman, and the approach of winter, all contributed to stop the progress of the Turks.

The ill success of the imperial campaign was laid hold of by the states of Austria and Bohemia to support their demand of the free exercise of their religion, according to the confession of Augsburg.

About this time begin the troubles of the Low Countries, and Calvinism had already set France in a flame; but Maximilian, more happy than Philip II. or the king of France, absolutely refused his sub-

jects liberty of conscience, and his army, which had done him but little service against the Turks, maintains him in tranquillity at home.

1567.—This year was pregnant with misfortunes heaped upon the ancient branch of the electoral house of Saxony, which Charles V. had deprived of the electorate.

This electorate, given, as we have seen, to the younger branch, should have been an object of the elder's regret. A gentleman named Groumbach, who, with many of his accomplices, was proscribed for various crimes, retired to Gotha, the residence of John Frederick, son of him from whom the duchy and electorate of Saxony had been taken after the battle of Mühlberg.

Groumbach had principally in view the avenging himself on Augustus, elector of Saxony, to whom the care of carrying the prosecution against Groumbach into execution was committed. He had associated himself with several villains, together with whom he subsisted upon robbery and pillage, and in concert with these he sets on foot a design of assassinating the elector. One of the conspirators, being taken at Dresden, confesses the plot. The elector Augustus marches his troops under an imperial commission to Gotha. Groumbach, whom the duke of Gotha protected, was then in the town, together with several soldiers resolutely determined to share his fortune, be it what it might. The duke of Gotha's troops and the citizens defend their town,

but are at length forced to surrender. The duke John Frederick, as unfortunate as his father, is arrested, carried to Vienna, and thence transferred to Naples, while his dominions are given to his brother William. Groumbach and his accomplices are instantly executed.

1568—The troubles of the Low Countries increase. William the Silent, prince of Orange, now head of a party who founded the republic of the United Provinces, applies himself to the emperor as the principal chief of the Low Countries, which were always looked upon as belonging to the empire; and in effect the emperor sends his brother, Charles of Austria, archduke of Gratz, into Spain to soften Philip II., but he can neither prevail upon the king of Spain, nor hinder most of the Protestant princes of Germany from assisting the prince of Orange.

The duke of Alva, that bloody governor of the Low Countries, presses the emperor to deliver up to him the prince of Orange, who was at that time levying troops in Germany. The reply of Maximilian was, that the supreme jurisdiction of the Low Countries being vested in the empire, he ought for this purpose to address himself to the imperial diet. Such an answer showed very sufficiently, that the prince of Orange was a man whom they dared not arrest.

The emperor, without intermeddling at all in the quarrel, leaves the prince of Orange at the head of one party of German troops to make war on another

party of German troops. It was, however, natural for him to assist his cousin Philip in this affair; the more so, as he had made peace that very same year with Selim II., successor to the great Solyman. But apparently after this peace he was allowed no more *Roman Months.*

Yet so far was he from assisting his cousin, the king of Spain, in the reduction of his subjects in the Low Countries, who demand liberty of conscience, that he appears to disapprove the conduct of Philip in soon after permitting the Austrians to adopt the confession of Augsburg. He afterwards promises the pope to revoke that permission. All these things manifest his authority to be weak, confined, and unstable. It had been said that Maximilian feared the enemies of his communion as too powerful a party; and indeed the house of Brandenburg was entirely Protestant. A son of the elector, John George, chosen archbishop of Magdeburg, publicly professed the Protestant religion. A bishop of Verdun does the same. The duke of Brunswick, Julius, also embraced that religion, his subjects already professing it. The elector palatine and most of his country profess Protestantism. The Catholic religion hardly existed any longer in Germany, but with the ecclesiastical electors, the episcopal territories, and in the abbeys, as well as some commanderies of the Teutonic order, in the hereditary dominions of the houses of Austria and Bavaria; and even there were many Protestants as well as in

Bohemia; all these things authorized the liberty Maximilian gave to the Protestant religion in Austria: but there is another stronger reason added; that is, the states of Austria had on this account promised him considerable subsidies.

1569 — In the midst of these wars of religion and politics, behold a dispute founded on vanity. Cosmo II., duke of Florence, and Alphonso, duke of Ferrara, contend for precedency. Rank had been settled in Germany by the diets; but there being no diets in Italy, the disputes about rank remained still undetermined. These two dukes were both related to the emperor. Francis, the hereditary prince of Florence, and the duke of Ferrara, had each of them married sisters of Maximilian. The two dukes leave their difference to his arbitration; but Pope Pius V., who looked upon the duke of Ferrara as his feudatory, and the duke of Florence as his ally, hastens to give a new title to Cosmo, conferring upon him with much ceremony the dignity of Grand Duke, as if the bare word "Grand" made some vast addition to power. Maximilian is extremely irritated at the pope's arrogating to himself a right of giving titles to the feudatories of the empire, and of anticipating his judgment. The duke of Florence pretends that he is no feudatory. The pope maintains, that he has not only the power of making grand dukes, but kings. The dispute grows more inflamed: but at length the

grand duke, who was very rich, was acknowledged by the emperor.

1570 — This year was held the Diet of Spires, in which most of the dominions of the unhappy duke of Gotha, who remains confined in Naples, are restored to his children. A peace is also there concluded between the emperor and John Sigismund, prince of Transylvania, who is acknowledged sovereign of that province, renouncing his title of king of Hungary; a title vain above all others! since one part of the kingdom was possessed by the French, and the rest belonged to the Turks.

The great differences, which had so long troubled the peace of the North on account of Livonia, were there terminated. Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy, all disputed about this province; and yet in Germany it was looked upon as a province of the empire. Sigismund, king of Sweden, cedes all his possessions in Livonia to Maximilian; the rest is put under the protection of the king of Denmark: they unite to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Muscovites. The town of Lübeck is comprehended in this treaty as a principal party. All its commercial privileges with Sweden and Denmark are confirmed. This town became still more powerful.

The Venetians, whom the Turks were every day despoiling of some town or other, had made a league with the pope and the king of Spain. The emperor refuses to come into it, fearing to bring the Otto-

man forces into Hungary, and Philip II. accedes merely through form.

The governor of the Milanese raises troops to enable him to seize upon the marquisate of Finale, belonging to the house of Caretto. The Genoese had also an eye upon this spot of ground, and were troublesome to the proprietor of it. France might have assisted them. The marquis of Caretto was at Vienna, where, in quality of vassal of the empire, he demanded justice; and in the meantime Philip II. seizes upon his dominions, easily finding means of prevailing in the imperial council.

1572—After the death of Sigismund II., king of Poland, the last of the race of Jagellon, Maximilian in an underhand way, makes interest for the throne, which he flatters himself the republic of Poland will offer him by embassy.

The secret intrigues of Maximilian prove fruitless; for the republic, looking upon their throne to be worth the trouble of asking for, send no embassy.

1573—The duke of Anjou, one of the competitors, is elected, on May 1, to the great discontent of the Protestant princes of Germany, who cannot, without horror, behold so near them a man stained with blood in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

1574—The prince of Orange, who supported himself in the Low Countries by his valor and reputation against all the power of Philip II., holds an assembly of the lords and deputies from the principal towns of his party at Dordrecht, whither the

emperor sends an imperial commissary, apparently to support the majesty of the empire, and manage an accommodation between Philip and the confederates.

1575—Maximilian causes his eldest son, Rudolph, to be elected king of the Romans in the Diet of Ratisbon. Through long custom, apprehension of the Turks, and the convenience of having a chief able to support the imperial dignity by his own power, the possession of the imperial throne became necessarily lodged in the house of Austria.

The princes of the empire were not less masters of their own rights. The elector palatine furnished troops to the Calvinists of France, while those of the Low Countries were assisted by other princes.

The crown of France devolving to the duke of Anjou, king of Poland, by the death of Charles IX., he quits Poland as if he fled from a prison; and that throne being consequently declared vacant, Maximilian at length has the credit to get himself elected king of Poland on December 15.

But an opposing faction put a most atrocious affront on Maximilian, proclaiming as king Stephen Báthori, vaivode of Transylvania, the sultan's vassal; a man looked upon in the court of Vienna as a rebel and a usurper. The Polanders marry him to the sister of Sigismund Augustus, the last of the blood of the Jagellons.

John, czar of Muscovy, offers to take the part of Maximilian, hoping thereby to regain Livonia. The

court of Muscovy, unpolished as it was in those days, had nevertheless the same views it has so gloriously manifested in these.

The Ottoman court threatens to side with Stephen Báthori against the emperor. Thus politics appear to have been then the same that they are now.

Maximilian endeavors to engage the emperor in his quarrel; but the Protestants, instead of assisting him to become more powerful, content themselves with soliciting in the diet free liberty for the Protestant noblesse of the ecclesiastical countries publicly to profess the Augsburg confession.

1576 — Maximilian, uncertain of being able to support his election to the crown of Poland, departs this life on August 12, aged 49.

RUDOLPH II.

FORTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

1577 — Rudolph, who had been crowned king of the Romans in the life of his father, holds the reins of the empire with a feeble hand. There were no other articles than those of Charles V. In the diets all things were conducted as usual. There were the same manners, the same interest; and the same form of government still prevailed. Rudolph barely promises, in the first diet held at Frankfort, to conform himself to the regulations of the preceding diets. It is remarkable, that in this diet the German princes proposed appeasing the dis-

turbances in the Low Countries by curtailing the authority, as well as the severity of Philip II., showing thereby that the interests of the princes and lords of Flanders were very dear to them, and that they would endeavor, as much as possible, to prevent the eldest branch of Austria from oppressing its vassals, whereby it set an example to the younger to tyrannize over theirs.

Such was the spirit of the Germanic body; and it was evident that the emperor Rudolph was not more absolute than Maximilian, since he could not prevent his brother, the archduke Matthias, from accepting the government of the Low Countries, on account of the confederates, who are armed against Philip II., so that on the one hand is seen Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles V., governing Flanders in the name of Philip II., and the rebels headed on the other by his nephew Matthias. The emperor remains neutral, while Germany furnishes each side with mercenaries.

Rudolph is not more disturbed by the irruptions which the Muscovites made at that time in Livonia.

1578.—The Low Countries become a theatre of war, confusion, and politics. Philip II., in having neglected to endeavor to restore order in proper time, as Charles V. would have done, commits a fault never to be repaired. The archduke Matthias, contributing scarcely more than his name to the cause of the confederates, had less power than the prince of Orange, while the prince of Orange had

not sufficient to send him assistance. The prince palatine Casimir, tutor to the young elector, Frederick IV., who had marched into France with a little army to the assistance of the Protestants, comes with the remainder of this army, and some new troops, to assist theirs and the cause of the revolutionists in the Low Countries. The brother of Henry III., king of France, who bore the title of duke of Anjou, although a Catholic, was called in to the assistance of the confederates. Thus there were four powers endeavoring each to profit by these disturbances; the archduke, Prince Casimir, the duke of Anjou, and the prince of Orange; the whole four disunited, and Don John of Austria, famous for the battle of Lepanto, singly opposed them all. It is claimed that this same Don John aspired to the sovereignty. So many troubles sprung from Philip's having abused his power, and his not having supported that abuse by his presence.

Without any proof whatsoever, and purely from a desire of rendering him odious, Philip II. is accused of having hastened the death of his brother, Don John of Austria, who died October 1.

1579 — During the desolation of the Low Countries, and while that great commander Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, successor of Don John, supports the cause of Philip II. and of the Catholic religion, by arms, Rudolph, like his father, takes up the office of mediator. The crown of France, and Elizabeth, queen of England, furnish the con-

federates with men and money, and the emperor assists Philip only by good offices, which are ineffectual. Rudolph was by no means solicitous enough about his character, nor was he sufficiently powerful from the form which the empire had taken. His mediation is eluded by both parties. The inflexible Philip II. absolutely refuses liberty of conscience, and the prince of Orange chooses not to accept of a peace which would reduce him to the character of a private man.

1580—The prince of Orange had found the secret of resisting Farnese, and to rid himself of the archduke Matthias. This archduke lays down his equivocal government, and demands a pension from the states, which they assign him upon the episcopal revenues of Utrecht.

1581 — Matthias withdraws from the Low Countries, having done nothing but stipulated for his pension, one-half of which they retrench. The states-general, by a public edict, dated July 26, in a legal manner throw off the government of the king of Spain, but do not deny their belonging to the empire. Their situation, in respect to Germany, remains undetermined; and the duke of Anjou, who had been elected duke of Brabant, endeavoring to enslave the nation that he came to defend, is disconcerted and obliged to retire in the year 1583, leaving the prince of Orange more powerful than ever.

1582 — Pope Gregory XIII., having signalized

his pontificate by reforming the calendar, the Protestant princes, not only of Germany, but of all Europe, oppose the reception of this necessary reformation. They had no other reason for it, but that of its being Rome that administered this service. They feared making that court appear too respectable, should they receive instructions from it; and that, should the people receive astronomical laws from it, they perhaps would not refuse its religious ones. The emperor is obliged, in the Diet of Augsburg, to appoint the imperial chamber to observe the Julian style, made in the time of Cæsar, which, though it had been then good, was now bad.

A very extraordinary event disturbs the empire this year. Gebhard Truchsess, archbishop of Cologne, who was no priest, had embraced the confession of Augsburg, and at Bonn was privately married to Agnes of Mansfeld, a nun of the monastery of Guerichen. It was no extraordinary thing for a bishop to marry; but this bishop was an elector: he wanted to espouse his wife publicly, and to keep his electorate. An electorate is certainly a secular dignity. It might have happened very easily that the electorate of Cologne had been divided from the archbishopric; that the prelate had been at the same time a Lutheran bishop and an elector. At that time the only Catholic electors were the king of Bohemia, the archbishops of Mentz and of Trier. The empire seems well nigh falling into the hands

of the Protestants, and that alone might have given a new face to the affairs of Europe.

Gebhard Truchsess endeavors, without success, to introduce Lutheranism into Cologne. The chapter and senate were much more attached to the Catholic religion, sharing in a great measure the sovereignty with the elector, which they were afraid to lose. In effect, the elector, though a sovereign, was far from being absolute. Cologne is an imperial town, governed by its magistrates. Soldiers are raised on every side, and the archbishop fights for his mistress with success.

1583—The Protestant princes take part with the elector of Cologne. The elector palatine, and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, write in his favor to the emperor, to the chapter and senate of Cologne; but proceeded no further; and as they had no personal interest that should induce them to make war on account of this marriage, at least at present, they do not.

Truchsess is only assisted by some petty princes. The archbishop of Bremen, who had married as well as he, brings some cavalry to his assistance. The count von Solms and some Lutheran gentlemen of Westphalia send him troops in the heat of the dispute. The prince of Parma, on the other hand, sends in his favor to the chapter. A canon of the ancient house of Saxony, which is the same as that of Brunswick, commands the army of the chapter, and pretends it is a holy war.

The elector of Cologne, having now nothing to care for, celebrates his marriage publicly at Rosendal during this petty war. The emperor Rudolph concerned himself no further in this affair than in exhorting the archbishop to quit his church and his electorate; but he determines to preserve both his nun and his religion.

Pope Gregory XIII. excommunicates him as a rotten member, and orders the election of a new archbishop. This bull of the pope causes the Protestant princes to rebel; but they only make some motions. Ernest of Bavaria, bishop of Liège, of Freising, and Hildesheim, is chosen elector of Cologne, and maintains his election by force of arms.

The prince palatine, Casimir, is the only person who at that time assists the dethroned elector, and even that was for but a short time. The town of Bonn was soon the only one which Truchsess could call his own. The troops which had been sent by the duke of Parma, join his rival, and lay siege to Bonn, which is soon obliged to surrender.

1584—The old elector still wrestles with his ill fortune: he has some few troops left: these are defeated; and at length being neither sufficiently able nor happy to arm any considerable potentates in his favor, he has no other resource but that of retiring to The Hague, where, under the protection of the prince of Orange, he leads a life even beneath indifferent. The interior parts of the empire are at peace. The Catholics in general acknowledge the

new calendar. The treaty with the Turks is prolonged; but, in truth, at the expense of a tribute; and Rudolph imagines himself happy enough in being able to purchase peace from Amurath III.

1585 — Led by the example of Gebhard Truchsess, two other bishops renounce their bishoprics; the one is a son of William, duke of Cleves, who quits the diocese of Münster, that he may be able to marry; the other is the bishop of Minden, of the house of Brunswick.

1586 — Fanaticism does that for Philip II. which he had vainly endeavored for through a ten years' war; that is, delivers him from the prince of Orange.

This illustrious founder of the liberty of the United Provinces is assassinated by Balthazar Gerrard, a native of Franche-Comté. An attempt of this nature had been before essayed by a Biscayan named Jaurigni; but he was cured of the wound. Salcedo had conspired against his life; and it is observable, that Jaurigni and Gerrard had received the sacrament preparatory to this action.

Maurice II.'s son succeeds him at the age of eighteen. It was he who afterwards became the greatest general in Europe. The Protestant princes of Germany give him no assistance, though it was for the interest of their religion; but they send troops into France to the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., because the Calvinist party in France were able to pay their soldiers, and Maurice was not.

1587 — Prince Maurice still continues the war in the Low Countries against Alexander Farnese. He levies some troops among the Protestants of Germany at the expense of the states of Holland. This was all the assistance that he could possibly procure.

A new throne offers itself to the house of Austria, which honor contributes to show still more how very low was the credit of Rudolph.

Stephen Báthori, vaivode of Transylvania, and king of Poland, dying on Dec. 13, 1586, Fedor, czar of Muscovy, enters the lists to succeed him; but is unanimously rejected. One faction declares for Sigismund, king of Sweden, son of John III. by a princess of the blood of the Jagellons; another faction proclaims the emperor's brother, Maximilian. They both march into Poland at the head of their troops. Maximilian, being defeated, retires to Silesia, while his competitor is crowned.

1588 — Maximilian is a second time defeated by Zamoyski, the Polish general; he is shut up in a castle near Lublin, and his brother Rudolph can do no more for him than entreat Philip II. to engage Pope Sixtus V. to write in favor of the prisoner.

1589 — Maximilian is at last set at liberty, having renounced all title to the kingdom of Poland: he has an interview with Sigismund before his departure: it is remarkable that the title of majesty was not given him, because in Germany it was taken by none but the emperor.

1590—The only event which now concerns the empire is the war in the Low Countries, which lays waste the frontiers on the banks of the Rhine and the neighborhood of Westphalia. The districts of these provinces content themselves with complaining of each party. The languid spirit of the head had by this time infected the members of the empire.

1591—Henry IV., who had his kingdom of France to conquer, sends Viscount Turenne into Germany to bargain for troops with some of the Protestant princes. The emperor vainly opposes him. Christian, elector of Saxony, influenced by Viscount Turenne, supplies him both with men and money; but he died while this army was on the road to France, whereby only an inconsiderable part of it reached that kingdom. Nothing material besides happened at this time in Germany.

1592—A civil war is occasioned by a nomination to the bishopric of Strasburg, as had lately happened at Cologne on a different account. The people of Strasburg were Protestants: their bishop, who resided at Saverne, and was a Catholic, dies. The Protestants elect John George of Brandenburg, a Lutheran; the Catholics choose the cardinal of Lorraine. The emperor Rudolph appoints by commission one of his brothers, the archduke Ferdinand, to adjust the difference and conduct the administration. He is acknowledged neither by Catholics nor Protestants. The cardinal of Lorraine supports his right at the head of ten thousand men.

The cantons of Berne, of Zurich, and of Basel furnish troops to the Protestant bishop. They are joined by a prince of Anhalt, who returned from France, where he had unsuccessfully served Henry IV. This prince of Anhalt defeats the cardinal of Lorraine. This affair is put into arbitration the following year; and in the year 1603, it was at last agreed that the cardinal of Lorraine should remain bishop of Strasburg, paying one hundred and thirty thousand golden crowns to John George of Brandenburg. It was hardly possible to purchase a bishopric at a much dearer rate.

1593—A much more considerable affair rouses the indifference of Rudolph. Amurath III. breaks the league, and the Turks already lay waste Upper Hungary. The duke of Bavaria and the archbishop of Salzburg are the only persons who as yet furnish the emperor with troops, joining theirs to those that are supplied by the emperor's hereditary dominions.

Ferdinand, brother of Rudolph, had by his first wife, who was daughter of a senator of Augsburg, a son named Charles of Austria. This son was never acknowledged to be a prince; but no man better deserved to be one. A considerable body of troops were under his command. A count, Montecuculi, led another party. This was a name, the owners of which seemed to be ordained to fight successfully for the house of Austria. The Serini, the Nadastis, and the Palfis headed the Hungarian militia. The Turks were worsted in several engage-

ments, and Upper Hungary at length secured, Buda excepted, which still remained in the hands of the Ottomans.

1594—The Turks had taken the field about the month of June, and Rudolph held a diet at Augsburg to consult upon measures of opposition. Is it credible that a box was put up in all the churches of Germany for charitable contributions! This is the first instance of a war being supported by alms. However, the Imperial and Hungarian troops, though but indifferently paid, still fight with great courage. The command of this army is conferred on the archduke Matthias by his own desire. He is joined by the archduke Maximilian, who, in the name of the emperor, his brother, governs Carinthia and Croatia. These cannot hinder the Turks from taking the town of Javarin.

1595—Happily for the Imperialists, Sigismund Báthori, vaivode of Transylvania, shakes off the Turkish for the imperial yoke. We often see princes change sides, obliged by the necessity of their affairs to attach themselves to the more powerful of two protectors. Báthori swears fidelity, and does homage to the emperor for Transylvania and some possessions in Hungary. He agrees, that in case he shall die without male issue, his dominions shall devolve to the emperor as king of Hungary, and in return he is promised in marriage to Christina, daughter of the archduke Charles, together with

the title of Most Illustrious and the order of the Golden Fleece.

The campaign was very happy; but the church boxes set up for the payment of the army not being filled, the imperial troops rise and pillage part of that country which they had been destined to defend.

1596 — The archduke Maximilian commands this year against the Turks. The new sultan, Mahomet III., enters Hungary in person and lays siege to Agria, which surrenders upon conditions; but the garrison is massacred going out of the town, and Mahomet, enraged against the aga of the janissaries for having countenanced the perfidy, orders his head to be struck off

Mahomet defeats Maximilian in battle on October 26.

While the emperor Rudolph remains at Vienna, employed in distillation, chemistry, and searching after the philosopher's stone; while his brother Maximilian is beaten by the Turks; while Matthias meditates the founding his own greatness upon the sluggishness of Rudolph, one of his brothers, called Albert, who had obtained a cardinal's cap, and of whom before this time we have heard scarce any mention, is made governor of such part of the Low Countries as remains in the hands of Philip II. He had in this government succeeded the archduke Ernest, another of his brothers, who died after having possessed it upwards of two years, without having done anything remarkable. Very different was

the conduct of Cardinal Albert of Austria, who made war upon Henry IV., with whom Philip II. had been at perpetual variance ever since the death of Henry III. He takes Calais and Andres.

Henry IV., after much difficulty conqueror of the league, seeks the assistance of the Protestant princes, and not obtaining it, he is forced to defend himself.

1597 — The Turks are still in Hungary. There is a rising of the peasants of Austria, harassed by the imperial troops, and thereby they give a helping hand to the desolation of the country. There is a necessity for sending some disciplined troops against them. This was a favorable opportunity for the Turks, but by some strange fatality Upper Hungary was always the boundary of their progress. The imperial army this year owes its safety to a revolt of the janissaries.

1598 — The country of Simeren, by the death of the last incumbent, falls to the elector palatine.

Philip II., king of Spain, dies, aged seventy-two, after a reign of forty-two years. He had long disturbed part of Europe, nor had his uncle Ferdinand, his cousin Maximilian, nor his nephew Rudolph ever forwarded his designs, neither had he in the least contributed to their grandeur. Some time before his death he had given the Low Countries to the Infanta Isabella, his daughter, as a portion in marrying the cardinal archduke Albert. This was depriving his son Philip III. and the crown of Spain

of a most beautiful province. But the troubles which had wasted it for some time had rendered it a burdensome possession; however, it was stipulated that it should revert to the Spanish crown in case of the failure of male issue in the archduke Albert, which happened to be the case.

Driving the Turks out of Upper Hungary begins to be matter of deliberation. The Diet grants towards the support of this war twenty Roman months.

The same Sigismund Báthori, who had renounced the Turkish protection, and done homage to the emperor for Transylvania, repents of his proceedings. The same territories which had belonged to the queen, mother of Stephen John Sigismund — that is to say, Oppeln and Ratisbon in Silesia — were given him in exchange for his sovereignty and for Wallachia. He was as little satisfied with his bargain as that queen had been. He abandons Silesia and re-enters his former dominions, but, always inconstant and weak, he cedes them to a cardinal who was his cousin. This cardinal, by name Andrew Báthori, immediately puts himself under the protection of the Turks, and receives a vest from the sultan as a mark of that favor he solicited. Martinusius-like, he puts himself at the head of an army, but is killed in an engagement against the imperialists.

1599 — By the death of Cardinal Báthori and the flight of Sigismund, Transylvania is left in the hands of the emperor, while Hungary continues to be

wasted by the Turks. Those who are astonished to see at this day such a fertile country so thinly peopled, will find it easily accounted for when they consider the numbers of inhabitants of both sexes which the Turks carried into slavery.

This year the emperor resolves at last to enfranchise Würtemberg from the enfeoffment of Austria. Würtemberg is held only of the empire, but in case the heirs should fail it was always to return to the house of Austria.

1600 — The Turks advance as far as Kanizsa upon the Drave, on the side of Styria. The duke de Mercœur, a famous prince of the house of Lorraine, could not prevent this strong place from being taken. The people of Transylvania and Wallachia refuse to acknowledge the emperor.

1601 — The fortune of Sigismund Báthori is as inconstant as himself. He once more enters Transylvania, but is defeated by the imperial party. These provinces are the seats of continual revolutions. Happily the very same duke de Mercœur, who could neither preserve nor recover Kanizsa from the Turks, takes Alba Regalis.

1602 — At length the archduke Matthias, more active than his brother, and assisted by the duke de Mercœur, makes an incursion as far as Buda, which he besieges to no purpose; all which causes a ruinous war at the expense of the emperor and the empire.

Sigismund Báthori is still more unfortunate.

Spurned by the Turks, who refuse him assistance, he surrenders at discretion to the imperial troops, and this prince, who was to have married an archduchess, is at length even too happy in being a baron in Bohemia, with but an indifferent pension.

1603 — Some unaccountable fatality always puts a stop to the Turkish conquests. Mahomet III., who threatened to command a formidable army against Hungary in person, dies in the flower of his age. Achmet, his son, a youth only 13 years old, is raised to the Ottoman throne. Factions disturb the seraglio, and the war in Hungary dies away.

The Diet of Ratisbon this time promises eighty Roman months. The empire had never before granted so powerful a succor, but, alas! it was furnished in scarcely anything but words.

This year Lübeck, Dantzic, Cologne, Hamburg, and Bremen, the old Hanse towns of Germany, obtain in France those liberties they pretend to have been formerly theirs, but which time had taken from them. The merchants of these towns are exempted from all the right of escheat, and still enjoy the immunity. Events of this nature are not the most remarkable, but they contribute to the public good.

1604 — The emperor nearly loses that part of Upper Hungary which remains to him. This was occasioned by the exactions of a governor of Casoria, who, having extorted money from a Hungarian lord named Botskai, the latter revolted, and his example influences part of the army. He declares

himself lord of Upper Hungary without daring to take the title of king.

1605 — The Turks and the rebel Botskai had taken all Hungary from the emperor, Presburg only excepted. The grand vizier was in the town of Pesth. Botskai causes himself to be proclaimed prince of Transylvania, and receives the crown of Hungary from the hands of the grand vizier, with great solemnity at Pesth. The archduke Matthias is obliged to make an arrangement with the Hungarian lords in order, if possible, to preserve the remainder of that country. It was stipulated that, for the future, the states of Hungary, which had always elected their king, should themselves elect their governor in the name of their king. The nomination to bishoprics was a right invested in the crown, but the states now article that none but Hungarians shall be made bishops, and that such bishops as are named by the emperor shall have no share in the government of the kingdom. Notwithstanding these and some other concessions, the archduke Matthias obtains the cession of Transylvania from Botskai, who also keeps no more of Hungary than the crown of gold which he had received from the grand vizier. The Hungarians expressly article that Lutheranism and Calvinism shall be freely tolerated among them.

Under the weak government of Rudolph, Germany was nevertheless comparatively quiet. The intestine wars that happened in it during that reign were very trivial; such as the duke of Brunswick

endeavoring to subdue the town of Brunswick, and the duke of Bavaria striving to reduce Donauwörth. The duke of Bavaria being rich and powerful, obtains his end at Donauwörth, but the duke of Brunswick could not prevail against Brunswick, which remained a long time a free and imperial town, being supported by the Teutonic Hanse towns. The great trading towns could at that time easily defend themselves against the princes. It is well known that they levied troops only in case of war. These occasional militias of princes and towns were equally bad. But things have worn a very different face since princes have found the way of keeping regular troops always on foot.

Germany was in other respects peaceable, in spite of the three contending religions, in spite of the troubles in Hungary and Transylvania, and the wars in the Low Countries, which incessantly harassed the frontiers. The weakness of Rudolph, in Germany, was of a very different nature from that of Henry III. in France. All the lords under Henry III. would, if possible, have been independent and powerful: they were troublesome in all things; but the German lords were that in reality, at which the French lords aspired.

1606 — The archduke Matthias treats ineffectually with the Turks. So many treaties with the Turks, Hungarians, and Transylvanians were only the seeds of new troubles. The Transylvanians after the death of Botskai, notwithstanding their treaties

with the emperor, choose Sigismund Ragotzky as vaivode, and the emperor permits it.

1607-08 — Rudolph, who had purchased peace so dearly at home, endeavors to restore it to the Low Countries by treaty, which could be done, as formerly had been in Hungary, only at the expense of the Spanish branch of Austria.

The famous Union of Utrecht, dated 1579, was too powerful to be infringed. The states-general of the seven united provinces were to be acknowledged free and independent. The seven united provinces required this authentic acknowledgment chiefly from Spain. Rudolph writes to them thus: "You are states holding of the empire; your constitution cannot alter, without the consent of the emperor, who is your head." The states-general sent no manner of reply to this letter. They continue to treat with Spain, who at length acknowledges their independence in the year 1609.

In the meantime the peaceful and philosophical indifference of Rudolph, which would have sat much better on a private man than an emperor, encouraged the ambition of the archduke Matthias, his brother, who devised making himself sovereign of Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia, the government of which was neglected by Rudolph, to whom he intended leaving barely the title of emperor. Hungary was almost entirely overrun by the Turks, and torn in pieces by factions, Austria exposed, and Bohemia discontented. The inconstant Báthori was,

by a new turn of fortune, re-established in Transylvania, restored by the votes of the people, and the protection of the Sultan. Matthias treats with Báthori, with the Turks, and with the malcontents of Hungary. The states of Austria had furnished him with a great deal of money. He was at the head of an army of which he took all imaginable care; the fruits of which he intended to reap.

The emperor learns the designs of his brother at Prague, whither he had retired; has some fears concerning his own safety, and raises a few troops in haste. Matthias, his brother, throws off the mask and marches towards Prague. The Protestants of Bohemia lay hold of this critical time to insist upon new privileges from Rudolph, whom they otherwise threaten to quit. They obtain concessions that the Catholic clergy shall have no concern with civil affairs, nor any acquisition of lands without the consent of the states; that all places of trust shall be disposed of in favor of Protestants. This condescension of the emperor irritates the Catholics, and he finds himself obliged to receive laws from his brother.

On May 11 he cedes Hungary, Austria, and Moravia to Matthias, reserving to himself, in this melancholy bargain, barely the profits without the property of Bohemia, and the sovereignty of Silesia. Thus does he strip himself of all that he had so weakly governed, and which he could no longer keep. In the end his brother acquires only new

embarrassments. He was fain to agree with the Protestants of Austria, who, sword in hand, demanded from their new master a free exercise of their religion, to which he was obliged to consent, at least out of the towns. He was also compelled to make it up with the Hungarians, who insisted that no Germans should bear a public trust among them. Matthias was obliged to deprive the Germans in Hungary of their employments. Thus did he strive to confirm his own power, that he might in time be able to resist that of the Turks.

1609 — The more the Protestant religion gained ground in Austria, the more powerful it became in Germany. The succession of Cleves and Juliers roused to arms the two parties, who had as it were slumbered since the peace of Passau. Hence sprang a Protestant league more dangerous than that of Smalcald, which gave rise to a Catholic one. These two parties were ready to ruin the empire.

The houses of Brandenburg, of Neuburg, of Deux-Ponts, of Saxony, and at last Charles of Austria, marquis of Burgau, dispute about the inheritance of John William, the last duke of Cleves, Berg, and Juliers, who died without children.

The emperor thought to reconcile the different pretenders by sequestering the lands about which they disputed. He sends the archduke Leopold, his cousin, to take possession of the duchy of Cleves, but at length two of the competitors, John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neu-

burg, unite to oppose him. The affair at length produces a quarrel between the Protestant princes and the house of Austria. The princes of Brandenburg and of Neuburg are already in possession, and united by the danger that might ensue from the division of their interest, being backed by Frederick IV., elector palatine, solicit the aid of Henry IV. of France.

At this time was formed the two opposing leagues; the Protestants supporting the houses of Brandenburg and Neuburg, the Catholics that of Austria. Frederick IV., elector palatine, although a Calvinist, headed the confederates of the Augsburg confession, which consisted of the duke of Würtemberg, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the margrave of Anspach, the margrave of Baden-Durlach, the prince of Anhalt, and several imperial towns. This party assumed the name of the Evangelic Union.

The chiefs of the Catholic league which opposed this were Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, the Catholic electors, and all the princes of that communion. The elector of Saxony also joined this party, although he was a Lutheran, in hopes of obtaining the investiture of the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. The landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, although a Protestant, joined the Catholic league. He had no manner of reason to make this quarrel a quarrel of religion, but religion was a name that each party made use of to animate the people. The Catholic league makes Pope Paul V. and Philip III., king of Spain, join it, and Henry IV. attaches himself to the Evangelic

Union; with this difference, that the pope and the king of Spain lend only their names, while Henry IV. marches into Germany at the head of a victorious, well-disciplined army, which had destroyed one Catholic league already.

1610 — These words of raillery, Catholic, Evangelical, and the name of pope, used in a profane quarrel, were the true and only cause of the assassination of Henry IV., who, it is well known, fell on May 14, in the middle of Paris, the victim of a weak, furious fanatic. It appears undoubtedly, from the examination of Ravaillac, who had been before a friar, that he assassinated Henry IV. because it was everywhere said that he was going to make war against the pope.

All Henry IV.'s great designs perished with him. However, there still remained some master-springs of that great machine which he had set in motion. The Protestant league was not destroyed. Some French troops, under the command of Marshal de la Châtre, support the parties of Brandenburg and Neuburg. In vain does the emperor adjudge Cleves and Juliers by provision to the elector of Saxony in case he proves his right. The Marshal de la Châtre nevertheless takes Juliers, and drives out the forces of the archduke Leopold. Juliers remains for some time in common to Brandenburg and Neuburg.

1611 — The extreme confusion which at this time reigned in Germany plainly shows what Henry IV. might have done had he survived. Rudolph,

the philosopher, remains still at Prague. The archduke Leopold, with his ill-paid army, driven out of Juliers, retire into Bohemia, where he subsists upon plunder. He there usurps all the authority of the emperor, who sees himself plundered on every side by the princes of his own family. Matthias, who had already forced his brother to part with so many dominions, will not, however, let anyone else plunder the chief of his family. He comes to Prague with his troops, and forces his brother to entreat the states to crown him, through excess of fraternal affection.

Matthias is crowned king of Bohemia on May 21, of which place there remains to Rudolph only the title of king, as unprofitable as that of emperor.

1612 — Rudolph dies on January 20, according to the Gregorian calendar. He had never been inclined to marry. His house, the power of which had been so vastly feared, was scarcely held in any estimation in Europe, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and this was occasioned by his carelessness and the weakness of Philip III. in Spain. Rudolph had lost his possessions, but he had saved his money. It is said there were fourteen millions of crowns found in his exchequer. This discovered a meanness of soul. With these fourteen millions and courage, he might have retaken Buda from the Turks and made the empire respectable. But his character adapted him to living like a private man upon the throne, and he was happier than those who plundered and despised him.

MATTHIAS.

FORTY-FIFTH EMPEROR.

1612 — Matthias, the brother of Rudolph, is unanimously elected, and this unanimity astonishes Europe, but he had been enriched by the treasures of his brother, and the near neighborhood of the Turks made it necessary to elect a prince of the house of Austria king of Hungary.

Even to that time, the capitulation of Charles V. had never been augmented: therein there were some articles in favor of Matthias, whose ambition was sufficiently manifest.

Hungary and Transylvania continued still in the same condition. The emperor had some small possessions in the neighborhood of Presburg, and Gabriel Báthori, the new prince of Transylvania, was the sultan's vassal.

1613 — The two great leagues — Catholic and Evangelical — which had once threatened the empire with a civil war, appear to be dissolved with the death of Henry IV. The Protestants barely content themselves with refusing money in the diets to the emperor. The quarrel about the succession of Juliers, which it was once thought would have inflamed all Europe, sinks into one of those particularly trivial wars, which have always, at one time or other, perplexed certain cantons of the empire, without disordering the Germanic body.

The duke of Neuburg and the elector of Brandenburg, being put in possession of Cleves and Juliers, were necessarily embroiled about the division of them; nor did a box on the ear given by the elector of Brandenburg to the duke of Neuburg pacify the difference. These two princes go to war. The duke of Neuburg becomes a Catholic in hope of thereby obtaining the protection of the emperor and the king of Spain. The elector of Brandenburg introduces Calvinism into his territories, hoping thereby to rouse the Protestant league to his assistance.

Meanwhile, the other princes remain inactive; nor does the elector of Saxony himself stir, although there had been an imperial decree in his favor. The Spanish and Dutch Low Countries take part in the quarrel. The marquis de Spinola assists Neuburg on the part of Spain, Count Maurice arms for Brandenburg on the part of the states-general. It is one of the consequences of the German constitution that foreign powers are more interested in their intestine quarrels than Germany itself. The Germanic body was never shaken. Its interior peace had been often disturbed by disputes between town and town, princes and towns, towns and princes; but the Germanic body subsisted by these divisions, which in some measure founded an almost equal balance between its members.

1614 — The case was very different in Hungary and Transylvania. Emperor Matthias prepares to go against the Turks. Gabriel Báthori, vaivode of

Transylvania, endeavors to keep fair as well with the Turkish as Christian emperor. The Turks fall upon Báthori. He is abandoned by his subjects, nor can the emperor assist him. Báthori causes himself to be killed by one of his own soldiers, the only instance we have of such a nature among modern princes. Bethlen-Gabor is invested by a pasha. This province seemed forever lost to the house of Austria. The new sultan, Achmet, master of so great a part of Hungary, and at the same time young and ambitious, began to make it feared that neither Presburg nor Vienna would limit the two empires. These alarms had been frequent in the latter end of the reign of Rudolph; but that prodigious extension of the Ottoman Empire, which had so long given the Christians uneasiness, was the cause of their safety. The Turks were often at war with the Persians. Their frontiers on the Black sea suffered much from the revolting of the Georgians and Mingrelians. The Arabs were with difficulty kept within bounds, and it often happened that the Turks, at the very same time that it was feared they would overrun Hungary and Italy, were obliged to patch up a disadvantageous peace for the defence of their own dominions.

1615 — Emperor Matthias has the happiness of concluding a treaty with Sultan Achmet, much more favorable than a war could possibly have been to him. He stipulates without drawing sword, for the restitution of Agria, Kanizsa, Alba-Regalis, Pesth,

and even Buda. Thus is he in possession of almost all Hungary, leaving Transylvania and Bethlen-Gabor under the Turkish protection. This treaty increases Matthias's power. The affair of the succession of Juliers is almost the only thing that disturbs the interior part of the empire; but Matthias keeps fair with the Protestant princes by leaving this country still divided between the palatines of Neuburg and of Brandenburg. Prudence of this sort was extremely necessary to continue the empire in the house of Austria.

1616 — Negotiations and intrigues engross this and the following years. Matthias was childless, and had also lost his health and his activity. In order to preserve the empire in his family, it was necessary to secure Bohemia and Hungary. These conjunctures were delicate; the states of these two kingdoms were jealous of the rights of election: the spirit of party was predominant among them, but much more the spirit of independence: the difference of religions nourished discord, but the Protestants and Catholics were equally fond of their privileges. The princes of Germany were little disposed to choose an Austrian emperor; and the Evangelical Union, which still existed, left this house but small hopes.

The first step to be taken was to secure the succession of Bohemia and Hungary. Matthias had forced these two kingdoms from his brother and was not at all inclined that his inheritance should

pass to his remaining brothers, Maximilian and Albert. There is not the least gleam of their both having cordially renounced their rights. Albert, to whom the king of Spain had left the Low Countries, would have certainly been more able than another to support the imperial dignity, had he reigned over Hungary and Bohemia. Matthias intended that these crowns should descend to his cousin, Ferdinand of Gratz, duke of Styria. Right of consanguinity was but little consulted.

1617 — Ferdinand is acknowledged and elected by the states of Bohemia as successor to Matthias, according to which rank he is crowned king on June 29. The Evangelical League begins to be frightened at seeing this first approach of Ferdinand of Gratz towards the empire. Matthias and Ferdinand make the elector of Saxony, who does not belong to the Evangelical League, more useful than ever. He, hoping to have Cleves, Berg, and Juliers, sides in everything with the house of Austria; the palatine, having very different interests, continues still at the head of the Protestants. This is the origin of that unhappy war between Ferdinand and the palatine which ensued. This was that war of thirty years' continuance which desolated so many provinces, brought the Swedes into Germany, and at length produced the treaty of Westphalia, whereby the empire assumed a new face.

1618 — Matthias engages the Spanish branch of Austria to renounce all the pretensions which it could

possibly have upon Hungary and Bohemia. Philip III., king of Spain, gives up his rights to these kingdoms in favor of Ferdinand, conditionally that in case of Ferdinand's dying without male issue, Hungary and Bohemia shall descend to his sons or daughters, or to the children of his daughters, in the order of birthright. By this bargain these dominions might easily have fallen to France; for had a daughter of Philip III. inherited these kingdoms and married a king of France, the eldest son of this king would have been entitled to Hungary and Bohemia.

This family contract was evidently contrary to the will of Emperor Ferdinand I. The dispositions that men make for establishing the peace of futurity are too often preparatives of discord. In fine, this new treaty causes the revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians, who see themselves disposed of without being consulted. The Protestants of Bohemia begin to associate after the example of the Evangelical Union. The Catholics were soon induced to join this party, since their civil rights had been infringed, independent of religion. Silesia, that great fief of Bohemia, joins it. A civil war is kindled. The confederates are headed by Count von Thurn, otherwise de la Tour, a man of genius, who makes war regularly and advantageously; and they make progress even to the gates of Vienna.

1619 — In the midst of this revolution, about the month of March, the emperor Matthias dies, without being at all able to foresee the destiny of his house.

His cousin, Ferdinand of Gratz, was at length happy enough not to find any great opposition in Hungary, whence he had driven out the Turks by a treaty that made him very agreeable to that kingdom; but he beholds Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia leagued against him, the Protestants of Austria ready to revolt, and those of Germany not at all disposed to raise him to the empire. The house of Austria had never seen a moment more critical. Four electors, on the one hand, offer the imperial crown to Maximilian, duke of Bavaria; the sovereignty of Bohemia, on the other, is offered to the duke of Savoy, who being at too great a distance to obtain it, it is unfortunately accepted by the elector palatine, Frederick V. In the meantime there is a meeting at Frankfort for the election of a king of the Romans, a king of Germany, and an emperor. Almost all the courts of Europe are attentive to this material point; the states of Bohemia order their deputies at Frankfort to exclude Ferdinand from the right of voting. They refuse to acknowledge him for king, and consequently intend to deprive him of his vote. He was not only threatened to be excluded from the imperial, but even from the electoral dignity. He obtained both the one and the other. He not only gave his vote for the empire, but both Protestants and Catholics joined to give him theirs. Each elector was influenced in such a manner that he imagined the elevation of Ferdinand of Gratz to be to his particular interest; even the elector

palatine, to whom the states of Bohemia had given their crown, was obliged to vote for him; which, had he refused, would have been to no purpose. This election was made on Aug. 19, 1619. He is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on September 19; before which he signs a more extensive capitulation than any of his predecessors had done.

FERDINAND II.

FORTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1619 — At the same time that Ferdinand II. is vested with the imperial dignity, the states of Bohemia name the elector palatine for king. This honor was now much more dangerous than it had formerly been on account of Ferdinand's being chosen emperor. This was a very critical time for the Protestants. Had Frederick been assisted by his father-in-law, James I., king of England, he had been sure of success. James I. helped him only with advice, and this advice was to refuse the crown. He pays no respect to it, but gives way to his fortune.

Frederick is solemnly crowned at Prague, November 4, with the princess of England, his wife; but the ceremony is performed by the minister of the Hussites, and not by the archbishop of Prague.

This gives rise to a war, as well religious as political. All the Protestant princes, the elector of Saxony excepted, declare for Frederick. He had a few

English troops in his army, sent him by some of the English nobility, either through personal friendship for him, and hatred of the Catholic religion, or from the glory of doing more than his father-in-law, the king. He was seconded by the vaivode of Transylvania, Bethlen-Gabor, who attacked the same enemy in Hungary. Gabor penetrates even to the gates of Vienna, and thence goes back the same road to take Presburg. Silesia revolts against the emperor. The elector palatine's party in Bohemia are supported by the count of Mansfeld; even the Protestants of Austria are troublesome to the emperor. If the house of Bavaria, like that of Austria, had been always united, the new king of Bohemia would have had much the stronger party; but, though the duke of Bavaria was both rich and powerful, he was far from contributing to the grandeur of the elder branch of his house. Jealousy, ambition, and religion attached him to the emperor; so that what had been the fate of the house of Saxony under Charles V. was the same as that of Bavaria under Ferdinand of Gratz.

The Protestant and Catholic leagues were a little after almost equally powerful in Germany; but Spain and Italy favor Ferdinand, furnishing him with troops as well as with money levied upon the clergy. France had forgotten her old interests, and was not yet governed by a cardinal Richelieu. The court of Louis XIII., weak and confused, seemed to have views — if we would suppose it to have

any — very different from the designs of Henry the Great.

1620 — Louis XIII., instead of marching with an army, sends the duke of Angoulême, at the head of a solemn embassy, to offer his mediation. The princes assembled at Ulm listen to him, but conclude on nothing. The war in Bohemia continuing, Bethlen-Gabor causes himself to be acknowledged king in Hungary, as Frederick V. had been in Bohemia. This revolution of the states of Hungary was countenanced by a Turkish and a Venetian ambassador in the town of Neuhäusel. It is unusual to see the Turks and Venetians thus united; but Venice was so entirely at variance with the Spanish branch of Austria that she openly declared herself against all of that house.

All Europe took part in this quarrel; but much rather by words than by actions. The emperor is much better seconded in Germany than the elector palatine.

On the one hand, the elector of Saxony, who had declared for the emperor, enters Lusatia; on the other, the duke of Bavaria marches into Bohemia, with a powerful army; whilst the emperor's forces make a shift to hold out in Hungary against Bethlen-Gabor.

The palatine is at one and the same time attacked, both in his new kingdom of Bohemia and in his electorate, where Henry Frederick of Nassau, the brother of, and afterwards successor to, Maurice,

the stadtholder of the United Provinces, fights for him, where he has also some English; but against him are the choicest troops of the Spanish Low Countries, under the command of the famous Spinola. The palatinate is ravaged. A battle in Bohemia decides the fate of Austria and the elector palatine. On November 19, Frederick is entirely defeated near Prague by his relative, Maximilian of Bavaria. He at length takes refuge in Silesia with his wife and two of his children, and loses in one day all his dominions, both hereditary and acquired.

1621 — James, king of England, mediates in favor of his unfortunate kinsman, with as little success as had attended the latter's efforts in war.

By a decree of the aulic council, dated January 20, the emperor puts the elector palatine under the ban of the empire. He banishes the duke of Jägerndorf into Silesia, also the prince of Anhalt, the counts of Hohenlohe, of Mansfeld, de la Tour, and all those who had taken arms in favor of Frederick.

This vanquished prince finds some intercessors, but not one avenger. The king of Denmark endeavors to persuade the emperor to clemency, notwithstanding which Ferdinand causes many of the Bohemian gentry to fall, by the hands of the common executioner.

Count de Buquoy, one of his generals, completes the reduction of the rebels that remain in Bohemia, after which he hastens to secure Upper Hungary against Bethlen-Gabor. Buquoy is killed in this

campaign, and Ferdinand soon enters into an agreement with the Transylvanian, to whom he yields up a large territory, that he may be able the better to secure the rest. In the meantime the elector palatine flies from Silesia to Denmark, and from Denmark to Holland. The duke of Bavaria seizes the upper palatinate, and a body of Spanish troops, furnished by the archduke, governor of the Low Countries, pours into the palatinate, under the command of the marquis de Spinola.

All the assistance which the elector palatine could obtain from his father-in-law, king James, or from the king of Denmark, was good offices and useless embassies to Vienna. From France, to whose interest it was to take his part, he had no assistance. At length his only resource lay in two men, who ought naturally to have abandoned him. These were the duke of Jägerndorf in Silesia, and the count of Mansfeld in the palatine; both of them banished by the emperor, whose favor they might have obtained by quitting the party of Frederick. Incredible are their efforts in his behalf. Mansfeld particularly still headed a little army, which he kept together in spite of the Austrian power, and which had no other pay than the art of Mansfeld supplied them with, who made war like a very partisan; the art of doing which was quite well known in those times, wherein it was rare to see very large armies subsisting for a long time, and wherein a resolute leader might maintain himself for some time under the favor of intes-

time troubles. Mansfeld rouses and encourages the neighboring Protestant princes.

Particularly a prince of Brunswick named Christian, the administrator, but in truth the usurper of the house of Halberstadt, joins Mansfeld. This Christian entitled himself the Friend of God, and the Enemy of the Priests; nor was he less an enemy to the people, whose estates he ravaged. Mansfeld and he did a great deal of mischief to the country without being of the least service to the palatine.

The prince of Orange, and the United Provinces, who were at war with the Spaniards in the Low Countries, being obliged to turn all their force against them, were not able to afford the palatine any effectual assistance. His party was crushed; notwithstanding which, it was from time to time able to make some considerable opposition, and upon the slightest occasion, some Protestant prince was found ready to arm in its favor. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had a dispute about some land with the landgrave of Darmstadt, and being piqued against the emperor, who favored his competitor, he supported as much as possible the elector palatine. The margrave of Baden-Durlach joined Mansfeld, and all the Protestant princes in general, fearing that they should soon be forced to make restitution of the ecclesiastical possessions, appear disposed to take arms: whence he has hopes of being seconded by some powers.

1622 — It is the duke of Bavaria's lot again to

contribute to the happiness of Ferdinand. His generals and his troops complete the ruin of the palatine, his cousin's party. Tilly, the Bavarian general, afterwards one of the emperor's best generals, totally defeats, near Aschaffenburg, the prince of Brunswick, surnamed very properly, "The Enemy of the Priests," who was returning from plundering the abbey of Fulda, and all the ecclesiastical states of that part of Germany.

Mansfeld was the only person left who could defend the palatinate, and he was capable of doing it, being at the head of a small army, which joined with the remainder of Brunswick's forces, amounted to about ten thousand men. Mansfeld was a very extraordinary man. He was bastard to a count of that name; he had no fortune but his courage and abilities, but was privately assisted by the prince of Orange and the Protestants, and found himself general of an army, which was entirely his own.

The unhappy palatine was weak enough, being very ill advised, to renounce his succor, in hope that he might obtain from the emperor favorable conditions, which it was impossible to do without force. He himself obliged Mansfeld and Brunswick to abandon him. These two wandering chiefs pass into Lorraine and Alsace, and search out new countries to ravage. All the arrangement that Ferdinand II. now makes with the elector palatine is to send the victorious Tilly to take Heidelberg, Mannheim, and the rest of the country; in short, all that belongs to

the elector is looked upon as the forfeiture of an exile. He had the most extensive and the best-chosen library in Germany, particularly of manuscripts; these were sent to the duke of Bavaria, who transported them by water to Rome; but most of the cargo was lost by shipwreck, and the remainder is still preserved in the Vatican. Religion and the love of liberty always occasion some troubles in Bohemia; but they are such seditions as to be ended by punishment. The emperor banishes the Lutheran ministers from Prague, and shuts up their churches. He gives the administration of the university of Prague to the Jesuits. There is nothing could now interrupt the prosperity of the emperor but Hungary. He fully confirms the peace with Bethlen-Gabor, acknowledging him sovereign of Transylvania, and ceding to him seven countries, containing fifty leagues, bordering upon the frontiers of his territories. The rest of Hungary, which had long been an uninterrupted scene of destructive war, was at present of not the least service to the house of Austria, except that it still continued to be the bulwark of the Austrian states.

1623 — The emperor, being established in Germany, assembles a diet at Ratisbon, in which he declares that the elector palatine being guilty of high treason, had forfeited his estates, dignities, and possessions to the imperial crown: but that not inclining to lessen the number of electors, he wills, commands, and appoints, that Maximilian, duke of

Bavaria, be in this diet invested with the palatinate. This was speaking like a master. The Catholic princes in everything give way to the emperor's will. The Protestants make some public remonstrances. The elector of Brandenburg, the dukes of Brunswick, Holstein, and Mecklenburg, together with the towns of Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, and others, renew the Evangelical League. They are joined by the king of Denmark; but this league being only defensive, left the emperor at full liberty to act as he pleased.

On February 25, Ferdinand, upon his throne, invests the duke of Bavaria with the palatinate, the vice-chancellor saying in these words expressly: "the emperor out of the fulness of his power confers on him this dignity."

The territories of the elector palatine were not by this investiture given to the duke of Bavaria. This was an important article, which gave rise to many great difficulties.

John George of Hohenzollern, the eldest of the house of Brandenburg, is in this Diet made a prince of the empire. Brunswick, the enemy of the priests, and the famous general, Mansfeld, secretly supported by the Protestant princes, make their appearance again in Germany. Brunswick establishes himself in Lower Saxony, and afterwards in Westphalia. Count of Tilly vanquishes and disperses his army. Mansfeld still remains immovable and invincible. This was the only support which now remained

to the palatine, a support that could not restore him to his dominions.

1624 — The Protestant league still concealed a flame, which was ready to break out against the emperor. James I., king of England, not being able to obtain anything by negotiation in favor of his son-in-law, joins the league in Lower Saxony, of which Christian IV., king of Denmark, was declared chief; but this was not the chief who was yet to make head against the fortune of Ferdinand II.

The king of England furnishes money, Christian IV., king of Denmark, finds troops. The famous Mansfeld increases his little army, and they prepare for war.

1625 — At length the king of England having resolved efficaciously to support his kinsman, and to declare against the house of Austria, deprives his confederates of the powerful assistance he might have given them, by dying in the month of March.

It was but part of the Evangelical union that had raised the standard. Lower Saxony was the seat of war.

1626 — The emperor's two great generals, Tilly and Wallenstein, stop the progress of the king of Denmark and his confederates. Tilly defeats the king of Denmark in a pitched battle near Northeim, in the Brunswick territories. This victory seems to deprive the palatine of every resource. Mansfeld,

who never lost his courage, transplants the war, and goes by Brandenburg, Silesia, and Moravia, to attack the emperor in Hungary. Bethlen-Gabor, with whom the emperor had not kept all his engagements, takes up arms and joins Mansfeld with ten thousand men. He armed the Turks, who were still masters of Buda; but this great and bold project is dissipated, without costing Ferdinand much trouble. Mansfeld's army is destroyed by distempers: he dies himself of the contagion, in the flower of his age, exhorting the remainder of his soldiers, even in the hour of death, to sacrifice their lives for the Germanic liberty.

A prince of Brunswick, the other support of the elector palatine, died some short time before. That fortune which deprived the palatine of every hope, befriended Ferdinand in all things. He procures his son, Ferdinand Ernest, to be elected king of Hungary. In vain would Bethlen-Gabor maintain his rights to that kingdom; the Turks could give him no assistance, as it was during the minority of Amurath IV. In truth he ravaged Styria; but Wallenstein repulsed him, as he had repulsed the Danes. At length the emperor, as happy in his ministers as in his generals, controls Bethlen-Gabor by a treaty, in which Transylvania and the seven adjacent counties remain to him during life, after which the whole is to fall to the house of Austria.

1627 — Everything succeeds with Ferdinand, without his taking any other steps than wishing or

commanding. Count Tilly pursues the king of Denmark and his confederates. That king retires to his own dominions. The dukes of Holstein and of Brunswick are disarmed almost as soon as armed. The elector of Brandenburg, who was the only person that allowed his subjects to enlist in the service of Denmark, recalls them, and breaks the treaty. The count of Tilly, and Wallenstein, now become duke of Friedland, permit their victorious troops to live everywhere at discretion.

Ferdinand, uniting the interests of religion and politics, intends taking the bishopric of Halberstadt from the house of Brunswick, and the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen out of the hands of Saxony, in order to confer them, together with several abbeys, on one of his sons. He had caused his son, Ferdinand Ernest, to be elected king of Hungary, and had him crowned king of Bohemia without any election; for the Hungarians, neighbors of the Turks and of Bethlen-Gabor, were to be soothed; but Bohemia was looked upon as conquered.

1628 — Ferdinand at length enjoys absolute authority. The Protestant princes and Christian IV., king of Denmark, address themselves secretly to the French ministry, because Cardinal de Richelieu began to be extremely respectable all over Europe. They with reason flatter themselves that the cardinal, who wanted to crush the Protestants in France, would support them in Germany. Cardinal Richelieu causes money to be sent to the king of Denmark,

and encourages the Protestant princes. The Danes march towards the Elbe; but the Protestant league, affrighted, dares not openly declare itself against the emperor; nor is his happiness as yet interrupted. He proscribes the duke of Mecklenburg, whom the Danes had obliged to declare for them, and gives his duchy to Wallenstein.

1629 — The king of Denmark, always unfortunate, is obliged to make peace in the month of June. Never had Ferdinand more power, nor did he make a better use of it.

Christian IV., who had a dispute with the duke of Holstein, ravages the duchy of Schleswig with his troops, which no longer serve against Ferdinand. The court of Vienna sends him admonitory letters, as to a member of the empire, requiring him to evacuate Schleswig. The king of Denmark answers that this duchy never was an imperial fief, like that of Holstein. The court of Vienna replies that the kingdom of Denmark itself was a fief of the empire. The king is at length obliged to conform to the emperor's will. It was scarcely possible for the pretensions of the empire upon the North to be supported with more dignity.

The empire, ever since the time of Charles V., had till now appeared entirely detached from Italy. The death of the duke of Mantua, marquis of Montferrat, revived the rights which they had formerly exerted. This duke of Mantua, called Vincent II., died without issue. His kinsman, Charles de Gon-

zaga, duke de Nevers, claims the succession in virtue of some matrimonial contracts. His relative, Cæsar Gonzaga, duke de Guastalla, had received the eventual investiture of it from the emperor.

The duke of Savoy, a third pretender, would have excluded the two others, and the king of Spain would have excluded all three. The duke of Nevers was already in possession, and had caused himself to be acknowledged duke of Mantua; but the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy unite to seize on all they could conveniently in Montferrat.

The emperor, for the first time, exerts his authority in Italy: he sends Count Nassau as an imperial commissary to put in sequestration Mantua and Montferrat while the process is adjudged at Vienna.

Proceedings of this sort had not been heard of in Italy these sixty years. It was very visible that the emperor intended at one and the same time to support the ancient rights of the empire, and to enrich the Spanish branch of Austria with these spoils. The ministry of France, who watched every opportunity of limiting the Austrian power, assists the duke of Mantua. It had already intermeddled with the affairs of the Valtelline, and hindered the Spanish branch of Austria from seizing upon that country, whereby a communication might have been opened between Tyrol and the Milanese, and the two branches of Austria rejoined by the Alps, as they were already on the Rhine by the Low Coun-

tries. With these views Cardinal de Richelieu sided with the duke of Mantua.

The Venetians, who were the nearest and most exposed, send into Mantua an army of fifteen thousand men. The emperor declares all such vassals of the empire in Italy as take part with the duke to be rebels. Pope Urban VIII. is obliged to favor these decrees. The popedom was at that time dependent on the house of Austria, and Ferdinand, who saw himself by the imperial dignity at the head of that house, was looked upon to be the most powerful prince in Europe.

The German troops, assisted by some Spanish regiments, take Mantua by assault, and the town is delivered up to be pillaged.

Ferdinand, everywhere successful, imagines at length the time was come to make the imperial dignity despotic and the Catholic religion universal. He orders, by edict of his council, that the Protestants should restore all the ecclesiastical benefices of which they had stood possessed since the time of the treaty of Passau, signed by Charles V. This was giving the greatest blow to the Protestant party; for the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Lebus, Camin, Havelberg, Lübeck, Meissen, Naumburg, Merseburg, Schwerin, Minden, Verden, Halberstadt, and a crowd of benefices, must now be given up. There was not one prince, either Lutheran or Calvinist,

who did not stand possessed of some ecclesiastical substance.

The Protestants have now no longer any measures to keep. The elector of Saxony whom the hope of one day possessing Cleves and Juliers had so long restrained, at length breaks out. These hopes had been weakened, inasmuch as the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg were agreed among themselves, Cleves being peaceably enjoyed by the first, and Juliers by the second, without any disturbance from the emperor. Thus the duke of Saxony sees these provinces lost to him, and Magdeburg, with the revenue of several bishoprics, going to be taken from him.

The emperor had at this time near one hundred and fifty thousand men in arms: the Catholic league had about thirty thousand. The two houses of Austria were closely united. The pope and all the Catholic states encourage the emperor in his project. France dared not as yet openly cross him; nor was there any power in Europe that seemed in a condition to oppose him. The duke of Wallenstein, at the head of a powerful army, began to put in execution the emperor's edict in Suabia and the duchy of Würtemberg; but the Catholic churches gained very little by these restitutions. Much was taken from the Protestants; the officers of Wallenstein were enriched, and the troops lived at the expense of both parties, who equally complained.

1630 — Ferdinand sees himself exactly in the

same circumstances that Charles V. had been at the league of Smalcald. All the princes of the empire were either to submit or he was to be overcome. The elector of Saxony now repents that he had assisted in oppressing the palatine; and it was he who, conjointly with other Protestant princes, secretly engaged Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to come into Germany, in lieu of the king of Denmark, whose assistance had been so very useless.

The elector of Bavaria was never more attached to the emperor than now. He had always a mind to command the imperial armies, thereby to keep the emperor as it were dependent upon him. In fine, he aspires to being chosen king of the Romans, and treats secretly with France, while Protestants call in the king of Sweden.

Ferdinand assembles a diet at Ratisbon. His design was to have his son, Ferdinand Ernest, elected king of the Romans: he also designed to engage the empire to second him against Gustavus Adolphus, in case that king should enter Germany; and against France, should it continue to protect the duke of Mantua in opposition to him; but, in spite of all his power, he finds the electors so little inclined to serve him, that he dares not even propose the election of his son.

The electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg were not personally present at this assembly, but their grievances were made known by their deputies. The

elector of Bavaria was the first to say that "it was impossible to deliberate freely in a diet, so long as the emperor had an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men on foot." The ecclesiastical electors and bishops who were present pressed the restitution of the ecclesiastical effects. This project could not be put into execution without the support of an army, and the army could not be supported but at the expense of the empire, which grumbled at it. The elector of Bavaria, who wanted to command it, insists upon Ferdinand's dismissing the duke Wallenstein. Ferdinand might have assumed the command himself, and by so doing deprived the elector of Bavaria of all pretext. But he does not take so glorious a step. He deprives Wallenstein of the command and gives it to Tilly; by these means entirely losing the Bavarian. In short, he has soldiers, but no friends.

The power of Ferdinand, which made the states of Germany fear their approaching loss, gives uneasiness to France, Venice, and even to the pope. Cardinal Richelieu now treats with the emperor about Mantua; but he breaks the treaty, when informed that Gustavus Adolphus prepares to enter Germany. He then negotiates with that monarch: England and the United Provinces do the same. The elector palatine, who a little before had been forsaken by all the world, finds himself suddenly on the point of being assisted by all these powers. The king of

Denmark, weakened by his preceding losses, and jealous of the king of Sweden, remains inactive.

Gustavus at length quits Sweden on June 13, embarking with thirty thousand men; he lands in Pomerania; he already claims this province, either in the whole or in part, to reward his expedition. The duke of Pomerania, who now reigned, had no children: his dominions, by the law of consanguinity, should have devolved to the elector of Brandenburg. Gustavus stipulates that, on the death of this duke, he is to hold the province in sequestration, until he shall be reimbursed the expenses of the war.

1631 — Cardinal de Richelieu does not conclude the alliance between France and Gustavus until that king's arrival in Pomerania, which only costs France three hundred thousand livres, paid down, and one million two hundred thousand livres a year. This was one of the most ingenious treaties which had ever been made. A neutrality for the elector of Bavaria, who might have been the greatest support of the emperor, was therein stipulated, as also that of the princes of the Catholic league, who were not to assist the emperor against the Swedes; and care was taken at the same time to make Gustavus promise to preserve all the rights of the Roman Church in every place where he should find that religion existing. By these means, the making this a war of religion was avoided, and the Catholics of Germany themselves were furnished with a specious

pretext for not assisting the emperor. This league was signed at Brandenburg, January 23.

The Protestant states gained new courage. They assemble at Leipsic, where they resolve to present their most humble remonstrances to Ferdinand, and to support their petition with forty thousand men for the establishment of peace in the empire. Gustavus still augments his army as he advances: he comes to Frankfort upon the Oder, yet cannot prevent General Tilly from taking Magdeburg by assault on May 20. The town is reduced to ashes: the inhabitants are destroyed by fire and sword; a horrible event! but now almost swallowed up in the crowd of calamities which perplexed these times. Tilly, being master of the Elbe, imagines he shall be able to prevent the king of Sweden from advancing any farther.

The emperor at length having accommodated all differences with France on account of the duke of Mantua, recalls his troops from Italy; the superiority was still entirely on his side. The elector of Saxony, who had been the first to call in Gustavus Adolphus, is at this time extremely embarrassed; and the elector of Brandenburg, finding himself equally in power to the imperial and Swedish armies, continues very irresolute.

Gustavus obliges the elector of Brandenburg to join him, sword in hand: the elector George William delivers to him the fortress of Spandau, during the whole time of the war; secures all the passes

for him, and allows him to recruit in Brandenburg, pleading to the emperor, with whom he keeps fair, constraint, as an excuse for his conduct.

The elector of Saxony gives the command of his own troops to Gustavus. The king of Sweden advances towards Leipsic. Tilly arrives before him, and the elector of Saxony within a league of the town. Each of their armies consisted of about thirty thousand fighting men. The Saxon troops, having been newly levied, make no manner of resistance, and the elector of Saxony is forced to share their flight. This misfortune is repaired by the Swedish discipline. Gustavus begins to make war in a new manner. He had accustomed his army to order and to a sort of exercise that never had been known before, in consequence of which Tilly, though looked upon to be one of the best generals in Europe, was completely overthrown in a pitched battle fought on September 17.

The conqueror pursues the Imperialists into Franconia: all places submit to him from the Elbe to the Rhine, while the elector of Saxony retires into Bohemia and Silesia. Gustavus suddenly re-establishes the duke of Mecklenburg in his dominions, to the surprise of Germany; and, after taking Mentz, hastens into the palatinate.

The deposed elector palatine searches out his protector in order to fight in his army. The Swedes penetrate as far as Alsace. The elector of Saxony, on his side, makes himself master of the capital of

Bohemia, and conquers Lusatia. All the Protestant party is in arms in Germany, and reaps the advantages of Gustavus's victories. Tilly with the remains of his army continues in Westphalia, where he is reinforced by some troops from the duke of Lorraine; but he takes no step towards opposing such rapid progress.

The emperor, fallen in less than a year from that height of grandeur in which he had appeared so formidable, is obliged at last to restore the command of his troops to that duke of Wallenstein whom he had deprived of it, with a more absolute power than ever had been given to any general. Wallenstein accepts the charge; and there are only a few troops left to Tilly, to enable him at least to act on the defensive. The protection which the king of Sweden gave to the elector palatine, in truth made the elector of Bavaria join the emperor, and he approaches Ferdinand in these critical times, rather like a prince with whom he would choose to keep fair, than a friend whom he came to assist.

The emperor had no longer wherewith to maintain those numerous armies that had rendered him so formidable. They had, before the battle of Leipsic, subsisted at the expense of the Catholic and Protestant states, since which time they were deprived of these resources. To form, to recruit, and to keep the army on foot as well as possible, all lay upon Wallenstein.

Ferdinand is at this time reduced to ask both

men and money from Pope Urban VIII. and they are both refused him. He endeavored to engage the court of Rome to publish a crusade against Gustavus, and his holiness promises a jubilee instead of a crusade.

[Supplementary pages are appended to the volume, "THE WAR OF 1741."]

31

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